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THE
MEMOIRES
OF
Monsieur DE AGEANT:

Containing the most secret Transactions and Affairs of *France*, from the Death of *Henry IV.* till the beginning of the Ministry of the Cardinal *de Richelieu.*

To which is added

A Particular Relation of the Arch-Bishop of *Embrun's* Voyage into *England*, and of his Negociation for the advancement of the Roman Catholick Religion here; together with the Duke of *Buckingham's* Letters to the said Arch-Bishop about the Progress of that Affair: Which happened the last Years of King *James I.* his Reign.

Faithfully Translated out of the French Original.

London, Printed for *Richard Baldwin* in the *Old-Baily*, 1690.

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Containing the most select Trans-
actions and Affairs of the
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stry of the Cardinal de Richelieu.

To which is added

A Particular Relation of the Yacht-
shop of Anthony's Voyage into the
West and of his Negotiations at the
advancement of the Roman Catho-
lick Religion, together with
the Description of the Yacht
in the last Voyage made by
Henry de la Motte, which
was the last of that kind.

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THE
TRANSLATOR'S
PREFACE
TO THE
READER.

THE following Memoires need
no other plausible Character to recommend them to
the favour of the English Reader,
than that they contain matters of
singular Importance, manag'd with
all imaginable Secresy and Art;
whereof this Nation had no small
concern then, and may have no less
reason to be inform'd of now: there
is

The Translator's Preface

is the more credit to be given them, in regard they were written by the Person that was the chief Contriver and Manager of all the Intrigues and Plots that were then form'd to ruine the Protestant Interest in France, and to supplant the same in England ; and for the particular information of the Cardinal of Richelieu, when he entred upon the publick administration of the Affairs of France, whose private Favourite the Author was. We have two illustrious Instances of the indefatigable Industry of the Romish party in those Days hardly to be paralell'd elsewhere ; one in the Person of a French Hugonot Minister, who being a Man of Intrigue and Ambition, and having credit with some great Men of his Party, was prevailed on by the fair Promises, and plausible Insinuations of the Romish Emissaries, to abjure the Protestant Religion, and embrace that of Rome, and yet obtain'd

to the Reader.

tain'd a Dispensation from Rome to continue in the Profession of the Protestant Religion, and Exercise of his Pastoral Function towards his Congregation for several Years, on purpose to betray all their Counsels and Designs. The other is of the Duke of Buckingham's being reconcil'd to the Church of Rome, notwithstanding his continuing afterwards in the Profession of the Religion of the Church of England. The whole Negociation of the Arch-Bishop of Embrun, who came privately over into England about the latter end of King James the First his Reign, to obtain a Toleration for Popery, you will find at large at the end of the Book; together with some Letters that pass betwixt the Duke of Buckingham and the said Arch-Bishop, in relation to that Design.

Besides,

The Translator's Preface, &c.

Besides, this Book in the Original is become very scarce, and hardly to be found at Paris; and I know that it has been sold for a Pistole, when it could be met with.

THE

The Memoires of Monsieur Deageant, containing the most secret Negotiations and Affairs in France, &c.

Since I never designed to commit to Writing any thing concerning the remarkable Occurrences in the Affairs of this Kingdom, that happen'd during the time of my Employment therein; after my retirement from the Court in the Year, 1619. For several Reasons I burnt all the Papers that might be of use to me in preserving the Memory of those Passages that I had seen and been conversant in, because I believed that I should never have any further occasion for them, especially since I had firmly resolved for the future to lay aside all Thoughts of being engaged in Matters of the like nature. Inasomuch that it will be impossible for me to make a Relation

so perfect and exact as I could wish, which I have been nevertheless commanded to do by my Lord Cardinal of *Richelieu*, and whereas I can refuse nothing on behalf of his Eminency that lyes in my Power to perform, without transgressing by a manifest ingratitude against those Obligations that are common to me with all the rest of my Country-men, as also against those particular Engagements that I lye under for many Favours received by me from his incomparable Generosity; I would therefore make it my most humble Request to him, graciously to admit the same Reasons that have formerly passed for a lawful Excuse on occasion of the like Commands that his Lordship hath formerly been pleased to lay upon me.

That I may not waste Paper to no purpose, and to avoid tediousness in the description of those things that are commonly known, or have been already brought to light. I presume his Eminency will be satisfied if I only produce here those Particulars that my Memory can recollect, which have

have not as yet been mentioned by any that I know, and whereof (as I believe) few Persons have been informed.

About the end of the preceding Reign, I began to be employed as well in the managing of Dispatches, as in the Transaction of some important Affairs, but because I was afterwards discharged from that Office, and I have since made but little or no Reflection thereon, I am not able to relate any thing very considerable; although in reading what may be Written concerning those Times, or in discoursing with any that shall have a mind to compose an History of them, I could give sufficient Light as to those Particulars that fall within the compass of my Knowledge, of which there might be some doubt.

Amongst other Employments at that time, it was my business to make Private Payments to several Persons as well *French Men* as Foreigners that served the late King in his Grand Design, which he was just about putting in Execution at that very instant when he was unfortunately snatcht 'a-

away from *France* by that execrable and ever to be deplored Attempt. And because, as I imagined, he would not that any of his Ministers of State, not even the Sr. *Beringueu* the Elder, who was his Treasurer as to his more Private and Domestick Expences, should know all the particular Circumstances of this Design, His Majesty would often in Playing, put the Gold that belonged to the Game into his Pocket, and secretly convey it into my hands; sometimes also I was commanded to go and receive certain Sums of Money from Monsieur *de Villeroy*, who in giving them to me never failed to tell me, *You may assure the King that I have not enquired how you are to dispose of this Cash*: By which I judged that he knew nothing of my Employment.

During that time Monsieur *de Lesdiguiers* being come to Court, the late King Communicated his Designs to him, and told him that he intended to give him the Command of an Army, which being joyned with the Forces of the Duke of *Savoy* should make an Inroad into *Italy*, and that he was resolved to appear in Person at the head

head of Another, that was prepared to Invade *Flanders* and *Germany*, where some Enterprizes were to be performed on certain considerable Places: Moreover his Majesty was pleased to shew him the Platforms thereof, and required all those that brought them, and were employed in these Affairs, to declare in his presence the means that they propounded as most effectual to put them in Execution.

Monsieur de *Lesdiguieres* approved of these measures that his Majesty had taken, and declared that they might prove successful, and that a tryal ought to be made; but he was of Opinion, that the King should lead in Person his principal Forces into *Spain*, the Conquest whereof he judged to be more easie and profitable than that which his Majesty undertook; and thus (said he) by wounding the Beast to the Heart, you may overthrow him, and having subdued him, you may be assured that all that depend on, or are protected by him, will soon after fall under the Power of your Arms: Whereas on the contrary as long as the *Spa-*

peace *miards* shall remain in praise at home, they will be always able to raise Obstacles and great Obstructions against all the Enterprizes that you may elsewhere attempt on the Estates that are under their Dominion, or those whom they shall think fit to defend. He added further, that with an Army of thirty Thousand Men well disciplined and maintained compleat, he might perform this Conquest, that there would be no Sieges of Places to stop his Progress, and that there could be but three Battles fought at most, in which his Majesty (according to all appearance) would obtain the Victory, since his Souldiers that were Old and well Exercised in Martial Discipline, would encounter with those that were raw and that had very little Experience in Arms, and whose Hands were weakened, and their Courage rendred effeminate with Peace, which they had so long enjoyed in *Spain*.

The greatest difficulty that seemed to oppose this Advice, and which hath been always objected, whensoever a Proposal was made to carry any Forces into *Spain*, consisted in the want

want of Victuals and other things necessary, proceeding from the Barrenness of most part of the Countries through which they must pass: But Monsieur de *Lesdigniers* made his Majesty sensible that this defect might be supplied, by causing the Army to be attended with a sufficient number of Vessels or Carriages laden with all sorts of Provisions requisite for Men and Horses, and there were certain Persons that would engage to furnish them therewith whithersoever they should march by Sea or Land, provided that the Road might be kept open and free, which ought also to be done for their own Security.

The late Duke of *Savoy* was one of the chief Incendiaries of this War, he pretended that the Estates that belonged to the *Spaniards* in *Italy* might be subdued with a great deal of ease; and for his part he made these demands, that he should have the Possession of *Bresse*, which he called the *Little Meadow*; that he should not be molested in making himself Master of *Geneva*; that he should be assisted in Conquering the *Franche* County; and that

the Marriage should be concluded, which was afterwards solemnized: The King agreed to this last Proposition, but to none of the others, since he did not intend to give him so much as one Foot of Ground on this side the Mountains. On the contrary his Majesty desired to have *Savoy*, and to extend the Dominions of this Duke further in *Italy*, by causing him to be Proclaimed King of *Lombardy*, and by this means to satisfy his Ambition that aspired to the Royal Dignity. There were Articles drawn up between them to this Effect, which might be retrieved, and thereby the particulars of this Treaty might more fully appear.

In the midst of so many great Designs that caused all *Europe* to be Astonished, and in the most flourishing Prosperity of the Affairs of this Great Monarch, the *Rochellers* had the boldness to undertake an Attempt on the City of *Brouage*, and put themselves in a condition to Execute it: their Project was to cause two Ships full of Armed Men, to get into the Harbour of the said City at break of Day, who

who under colour of Merchants that had Goods to Unload, were to seize on the little Door of the Port, which for the conveniency of Traffic was usually opened early in the Morning, some hours before the great Gates: from thence they intended to rush into the City, to make themselves Masters thereof, and to put to the Sword all they met, the *Rochellers* having promised speedily to send them a Supply of Souldiers, that might be sufficient to assist them to obtain the entire Possession of the Place, and to maintain it. According to this Agreement the two Ships being Arrived at the Port at the hour prefixt, found themselves disappointed, for the Gate was not unlocked all that Morning, by reason that the Governour of the Place had the Night before, received an Account by a Courier of the execrable Murther Committed on the Person of the late King: Insomuch that these Undertakers having waited till Eight of the Clock, and fearing lest they should be discovered, were forced to retire, and not long after, were informed of the cause that the

Gates were not opened. An Ingenious States-man of *Rochel*, who acted in this Design, and was on Board one of the two Vessels, being some Years after, through my perswasion, converted to the Catholic Religion, revealed this Plot to me, and besides gave other very good Advice, that hath since proved advantageous to the Service of the King now happily Reigning: He also proposed a way to surprize *Rochel*, which might have succeeded, if it had been well managed, as shall be shewn in its due place, but the glory of Conquering this Proud and in appearance Invincible City was reserved for his Majesty and the Prudent and Generous Conduct of his Principal Minister of State, who in personal Abilities and Success, hath far surpassed all those that ever had any share in the Administration of the Affairs of this Kingdom.

In the Year, 1615. A little after the departure of the King in his Journey to *Guienne*, one Mrs. *Hoteman* an Ancient Widow came to enquire for me at my House, to desire me to go and discourse with a certain

tain Nun, who had some Matters of Consequence to impart to me; where-upon offering to go along with her immediately, she brought me to this Religious Person, who told me privately that although I did not know her, and she was not conversant in the Affairs of the World, nevertheless knowing that I could discreetly manage one of such importance as this that now happen'd, she committed it to my Care, assuring me that one named *Goillier*, commonly called *Mortorier*, who pretended to be a Physician, and whom she described to me to be a perfect Atheist, given up to all manner of Vices and Debauchery, of a Ruddy Complexion, Red Hair, of a tall Stature, and of a robust and strong Body, aged about Fifty Years, in a mean Habit, wearing amongst other Cloaths, an old black Serge Cloak dawbed with abundance of Laces, had a Design upon the Life of Monsieur the King's Brother: and that if I did not soon find out some means to prevent this wicked Attempt, it were to be feared lest this vile Wretch should give the fatal blow; ;
how...

however, she charged me to proceed with this Caution, that no mention should be made of her ; otherwise she would deny that she ever told me any thing, and I would be the cause of many Mis-fortunes that might ensue. This was sufficient to puzzle and disturb a more acute and discerning Brain than mine ; insomuch that I remained very much perplexed and confused with the thoughts of this Matter and in enquiring into the means how to acquit my self well therein without trouble. I considered that to hinder so pernicious a Design from taking Effect, it was necessary to discover it to the Council that was left at *Paris*, that in so doing enquiry would be made into the grounds of the Report, that I should be there-upon urged to give an account whence it came, that in declaring it I should act directly contrary to the prohibition, and should run the risque of being left destitute and discredited as the Party had protested to me, that in concealing her Name, I might be esteemed as a Calumniator, or a Person void of Understanding, and that on
the

the other side if I should be altogether silent, the horrid Fact might be Committed, and I might be one day accused for neglecting an opportunity of diverting so lamentable a Disaster, and might also thereby incur a very great Danger. Amidst these and a many other such like Considerations too tedious here to rehearse, I thought it convenient to feign, that about Nine of the Clock at Night, when I was gone home, as I was standing on the Threshold of my Door, and talking with some Neighbours, I was accosted by an unknown Person who spake thus, *I have sought for you several Hours upon an extraordinary occasion,* and then related the same Particulars, whereof the Religious Woman had informed me : which I caused to repeat often, that I might remember, and afterwards Write them down, he added that he could not discover himself for certain Reasons, but however if I neglected to take care of this Matter, he would accuse me hereafter before the King;

The next day early in the Morning I went to seek Mr. *Arnaud* Intendant of the Treasury, who was one of those that were left for the Council at *Paris*, to whom I represented the passages of this counterfeit rencounter, and propounded them to him as true: We resolved together, to Cause the Council to be forthwith assembled, to deliberate on the report that I had made: Who all agreed to lay a charge on me in the first place, secretly to give notice to the Principle Attendants about the Prince, to take an extraordinary care of his Person, and *Secondly* to cause the Man that had been described to me, to be apprehended if I could find him there, to this end three Officers were deputed to assist me: His Highness then lodged in the *Hostel de Montmorency*, and had for his Guard one of the Companies of his Majesties Regiment of Guards, under the Command of *Monsieur de Mauson*: He was the first that I met, whom I acquainted with the Orders I had received, and as I was giving him a Description of the Person, he suddenly told me, *It is above eight days ago since this Ras-*
cal!

cal would have intruded himself into my Company, which I would never permit, because he had a very bad Physiognomy, and this Morning I saw the Cooks drive him out of the Kitchen with sticks. We went thither immediately to hear what news we could ; the Cooks informed us that some days were passed since this base Fellow came into the Kitchen, and drawing near to the fire, said that the extream necessity to which he was reduced, constrained him to beg somewhat of them to eat.

All that day and the next I remained in the Prince's Apartments, and not having seen the Man, I repaired to the Nun, to whom I gave an account of my Proceedings, complaining that not being able to find the Person whom she had represented to me, it would be thought that I had imposed on the Council ; she answered that I was not diligent enough in searching after him, and that the first time that I went into the *Hostel de Montmorency* with the Souldiers he perceived us, and suspecting lest we should have an intent to seize him, as we enter'd at one door, went out at another, and was gone to
hide

hide himself in the *Arsenal*, where a Woman that Lodged in a little House that was above the Dancing Hall, had conveyed him into a Garret.

Upon this advice, a Nephew of the Captain of the Guard, who was his Lieutenant and (as I think) named *Adomville*, a Person of great Courage and Resolution, was ordered to attend, and to go with a certain Number of Souldiers at Ten of the Clock at Night to seize this Man in the *Arsenal*: He came and knocked at the Womans Door, who refused to open it, tho' she was commanded in the Kings name, insomuch that they broke it, and being come up into the Chamber wherein they were told that this miscreant lay, they found him under a great consternation, holding his Breeches in his hand, with one Leg therein, not being able to put in the other, he was so much affrighted, and moreover without saying so much as one word to him, he cryed out, *I never had any design upon the Life of the King, nor upon that of the Prince.* The Lieutenant of the Guard Advancing, said, *why do you tell us this? We do not only*
think

think of you, we do not search for you!
 And in taking his Breeches to help him
 to put them on, he laid his hand on a
 great Knife in the form of a Baggonet,
 the edge whereof was exceeding sharp,
 being pointed like the Tongue of a
 Serpent and could cut on both sides,
 this was hid within the folds of his Bree-
 ches that were very large and stuffed
 with Hair, as the Fashion was to wear
 them sometime before ; another
 Knife of the same sort was also found
 on the other side, and being demanded
 what he intended to do with them, he
 repeated the abovesaid words, *that it*
was not his intention to kill the King nor
the Prince. They searched his Poc-
 kets, out of which was taken a Bottle
 filled with a certain composition that
 was made of the most subtile and pene-
 trating sort of Poison, which the said
 Lieutenant immediately perceived, and
 told him saying, *you cannot have all*
these tools but for some ill purpose. No
 (replied he) *I would entreat you to be-*
lieve that I never had a Design to Poyson
the King nor the Prince, but being by
Profession a Physician, I make use of
these Druggs, to prepare good Medicines ;
and

and as for the *Knives* that you found, I always carry them about me, because being poor and indigent I am forced to Begg in the *Convents*, where I receive Charity, and have occasion to cut the Bread and *Viſtuals* that are given to me. He was carried to the *Baſtile*, where the Bottle was expoſed to view; which certainly contained a rank and ſubtil Poyſon, and was made ſo that it might be eaſily taken out. The Council gave notice to his Maieſty of what had paſſed, and deſired to know his Com-mands thereupon: In the mean time this Wretch laid violent hands upon himſelf in the *Baſtile*, as I have been ſince informed. The ſecond time that I ſaw the *Nun*, ſhe adviſed me alſo to declare that the Garifon of *Soiſſons* had undertaken an enterprize, on a certain Night to ſeize on the Treasuſurers that lodged in the quarter of the *Celeſtins* at *Paris*, with their Goods and every thing of value that they had in their Houſes: The Plot was thus laid, a ſufficient number of Men unknown without any Arms, but their Swords, were to be introduced into the City, and in the Even-
ing

ing appointed for the Execution, a Boat privately Laden with Arms, was to be brought on the River to the Port St. *Paul*, which about midnight were to be taken by the said Persons, who having accomplished their design, were to retire through the Mell with their Prisoners and Booty, and to repair to the other side of the Bulwark, where Horses were prepared ready for them, to carry all to *Soissons*, under the Guard of a Detachment of Troopers order'd to attend for that purpose. *Monsieur de Liancourt* Governor of *Paris*, who received an intimation of this project, discovered the truth thereof, and prevented it from taking effect : I shall leave it to the judgment of those that are more capable than I am, to determine where this Religious Woman had these two pieces of Intelligence, since I never had the Curiosity nor Ability to penetrate into this matter.

A little after the time that the Prince was Arrested, and divers of the Princes and Nobility had withdrawn themselves to *Soissons*, with an intent to make War ; a certain Person whose
name

name could not be known ; left at the House of a Gentleman, who had the Honour sometimes to attend the King, and in whom his Majesty was pleased to confide, a Pacquet containing three Letters, one for the Queen Mother, the other for the Princes at *Soissons*, and the third for this Private Gentleman ; they were all three open, written in a fair *French* Character, without Date or Superscription, and in a good Stile, though some words had a little relish of the Cloister, the two Principal contained several weighty Reasons inforced with passages of the Holy Scriptures, and with Examples taken out of profane History ; the Pacquet was fastned with *Spanish* Wax, without the Impression of any Seal ; The Letter directed to the Gentleman, charged him with a commination of great Penalties in case he neglected it, to cause that for the Princes to be sent to them by what means he thought convenient, and to deliver the other to the Queen Mother with his own hands, entreating her to read it in private, and deliberately to consider the Contents without communicating it to any,

any, especially to the Party that was more particularly concerned therein, and after she had perused it, that she would be pleased to restore it to the Bearer.

The Letter written to the Princes, contained several very sound and cogent Arguments, to convince them that their Arms were unjust, that they would give an opportunity to Foreigners, that were Enemies to the Kingdom to endeavour to destroy it, and would furnish the Protestants with a pretence vigorously to Prosecute their Designs, to the great damage of the Catholic Religion, and of the State ; but if these considerations and those of their own safety could not prevail with them, to return to their duty; they would certainly perish in their Attempts, because God had taken a particular Care of the King, and promised to Crown the innocency and candour of his disposition with good success.

As for the Letter directed to the Queen Mother, it represented to her the many Favours she had received from the Divine Goodness, the little
Care

Care she took to demean herself according to the intent of them, and the neglect and averfness she shewed to see much good Council that hath been offered to her, to follow the pernicious Advice of certain *Parasites*, that had no other end but to advance their own Private Interests and Fortunes, to the ruin of the State, and even of her Royal Person, whom they betrayed: The Particulars were not specified, but it was apparent that the Marshal D' *Ancre* and his Wife were principally aimed at in these Reflections, several miscarriages in the Government of Public Affairs were also enumerated, and the disorders that had already happened, as also those that might be expected, unless they were speedily prevented.

If my Memory fails me not, these were the Remedies propounded in this Letter, in the first place the Queen was exhorted to augment her Devotions in Divine Service, and to the Practice of good Works, to cause Prayers to be frequently made, especially at *Paris*, to give order that young Children of Twelve Years old and under should be

be exercised therein, and that a Solemn Procession should be made, and to take care that the Holy Sacrament be better Administred, than it hath been in the most part of the Towns and Villages of this Kingdom, and that by this means God would divert the evils with which she was threatned in particular, otherwise she would suddenly feel the effects of his displeasure ; it was moreover alledged that in observing the abovementioned directions, chiefly those relating to the Holy Sacrament, she would soon see the marvellous Fruits thereof throughout all *France*.

Secondly, The Tenour of this Letter was to perswade the Queen without any farther delay, to permit the King to Act in the Administration of the Government, for this was a thing that he expected, though he did not seem to desire it ; but if she refused to do it, this alone would be sufficient to involve her in extream troubles and Calamities, and to overturn the Kingdom which was already embroiled with commotions in all Parts, apparently under pretence that the King was kept
from

from the knowledge of the Affairs of the State.

The third Remedy proposed, was to send back into their own Country the two occasions of scandal, who were the cause of the general discontent, and served as a colour to the Insurrection of the Nobility and People ; that there were good reasons to perswade them to retire, *viz.* That for the future they might not only be permitted to enjoy the great Possessions that they had acquired, but might also have more given them, that the King would willingly grant this, and that thus these two Persons might happily make use of their good Fortune, whereas on the contrary, if the Queen should obstinately persist in upholding them, she would ere long with regret see them miserably perishing in her presence, and falling into a condition that she hath not yet foreseen, would prove an example of the vengeance of Almighty God, who hath threatned that the Child shall rise up against the Mother, and the Mother against the Child, to the great detriment of the Nation, and to the manifest Peril of Religion throughout

out all *Europe*, I remember that at the end of the Letter there was this Passage, that in case the Queen took up a resolution to follow these wholsom Admonitions and Councils, the Person that gave them, would apply himself more particularly to her Majesty, and would lay down such methods for the easy performance thereof, that the Success of these Affairs should far surpass the expectation of the most judicious and clear-cited Politicians.

As soon as the Pacquet was delivered to the Gentleman to whom it was directed, he brought it to the King, who commanded him to read it in his presence, being assisted only with Monsieur de *Laines*: his Majesty thought fit that the Letter for the Princess should be detained, and that the other for the Queen-Mother, should be carried to her, without declaring that he had had any Information thereof. The Bearer acquainted her Majesty that he had a Paper of great Importance to shew her and that it was desired to be kept Secret, whereupon she ordered him to attend her with it at Supper-time, when she would

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retire

retire alone into her little Cloſet, there ſhe cauſed it to be read, and as they were almoſt at the end, the King came to viſit the Queen, ſhe took that opportunity to keep the Letter, ſaying that ſhe would finiſh the peruſal thereof, and take it into conſideration at Night as ſhe went to Bed, and would reſtore it the next Morning. It hath been ſince reported, that it was given into the hands of her Confefſor, and afterwards into thoſe of Madam d'Ancre where it remained.

Some time had paſſed ſince the King declared his Opinion to thoſe Counſellors in whom he could chiefly conſide, and ſignified how much he was diſpleaſed at the form of Government then uſed, eſpecially at the little regard that was had to his Perſon, and becauſe they would not ſuffer him to interpoſe in any part of the Important Tranſactions of his Kingdom that had revolted in ſeveral Places. And divers Methods were already propoſed to provide a Remedy againſt theſe Diſorders, but becauſe it was moſt certain that his Maſteſty inclined to try the moſt gentle means rather than to proceed

proceed to Extremities, the Bearer of the Letter received a great charge to entreat the Queen-Mother (as he did as much as possibly he could) to weigh the Reasons therein contained, to endeavour to induce her to embrace the wholsom Advice that was offered to her, for the King was perswaded, that if she could but once resolve to remove the Marshal *d' Ancre* and his Wife, she would readily hearken to such Proposals as should be judged most convenient for the Regulation of the Affairs of the State.

Although the Letter produced not the desired Effect with Respect to the Queen-Mother, yet it wrought otherwise with the King, for it exasperated his Spirit, and animated him to consider more than he had done formerly; how to find out proper Expedients as well to stop the course of those Commotions that were already raised, and threatned to overwhelm the Nation, as to take the Reins of the Government of his Kingdom in his own Hands, and to Establish good Rules for the Administration of Public Af-

fairs, that were hitherto manag'd altogether by the Passions and particular Interests of the Marshal *d'Ancre*; who though he came not into repute, but through the means of the great Influence his Wife had obtained over the Queen-Mother; nevertheless would not permit her Majesty any longer to have a share in the Government, nay presumed so far as to give orders and to dispose of several things without giving an account or so much as speaking to her thereof.

Several Conferences were privately holden in the Kings presence on this subject by Persons who were so much the less to be suspected, because they were then in little or no Esteem: It may be affirmed as a truth that his Majesty in all these Consultations expressed an ardent desire to take upon himself the Government of his Kingdom, and seemed to be highly offended that they continued to keep him at a distance, and strove to render him more and more contemptible, insomuch that he incessantly urged his particular Friends (to take such Measures as they should think most proper, to satisfy his desire,

desire, and speedily to put them in Execution: several Methods were thereupon proposed, of all which none judged with so much Prudence, so discreetly managed the Secret, nor proceeded with so much constancy and resolution in bringing the Matter to perfection, as his Majesty.

The first way that was tryed according to his Advice was taken from the means that had been exhibited to the Queen-Mother in the above mentioned Letter, viz. to cause the Marshal *d'Ancre* and his Wife to retire into *Italy*, upon Condition that they should not only enjoy all the Goods that they had acquired in *France*, but should also receive more from his Majesty: The Bishop of *Carcassone* who was then at Court with other Deputies of *Languedoc*, was under colour employed herein, and without knowing the Kings Design, was perswaded to take an opportunity to discourse the Queen in Private, and in acquainting her with the Circumstances of his Negotiation, to lay down such Reasons as might prevail with her to consent to this retreat, and to represent the apparent Inconveniences,

niences that would otherwise ensue: He discharged this trust very prudently, having urged such cogent and pathetic Arguments to the Queen, which she afterwards repeated to *Madam d' Ancre*, that both seemed to be inclined to yield thereto: and from that time the latter began to convey part of her Goods to *Florence*, and to cause almost all her Moveables to be packed up, in order to be sent after them the same way: But as for the Marshal, the King was informed, that he thought himself arrived to that height of Power, that none durst attempt any thing against him, and that with the Assistance of *Spain* which he had solicited, he might be in a Capacity to usurp part of the Kingdom; therefore he arrogantly rejected this wholsom Proposition; and it was then reported that he used such scornful Expressions to his Wife and some of his Confederates, that have since quitted his Interests, as if he intended to shew to what degree of Grandeur Fortune alone was able to exalt a Man.

Before it was thought fit to proceed to extremities and violent ways to effect the Change that was desired by the King, and which the most part of his Subjects waited for with great impatience, a debate arose, whether his Majesty should openly declare to the Queen his Mother, that he intended to take care of the Government of his Kingdom himself, and for the future to cause all Affairs of the State to be transacted according to his Directions and good Councils, and should immediately Command the Marshal *d'Ancre* and his Wife to depart into their own Country : But forasmuch as all the Royal Power was then in their Hands and only the Name of a King remained to his Majesty, and in regard that by reason of the inordinate Ambition of the Marshal and his Wife, his Majesty and the State would be exposed to great danger in taking this course, it was resolved to find out some other means that might be more safe.

Divers Expedients being afterwards propounded, at last it was agreed to examine which of these two ought to be chosen, either that the King should give orders to some of his faithful Friends to kill the Marshal, and to confiscate the Goods of his Wife, or to send her to *Florence*, or otherwise to impeach them in Parliament: the King and most of them that had the Honour to be of his Council in this occasion, did not approve of the first Method, but concluded to make use of the latter, and so much the rather, because that besides that it was without Violence and according to the ordinary Rules of Justice, his Majesty was assured that in the Papers of the Marshal and his Wife, amongst other things, sufficient Evidence would be found to prove the secret Correspondence that they had maintain'd with Foreigners to the Damage of the State: Whereupon the King resolved to cause the said Marshal *d'Ancre* to be Arrested, and immediately to be committed with his Wife into the Custody of the Parliament in order to their Tryal; and his Majesty intended at the same time

to entreat the Queen his Mother to vouchsafe to permit him to take the Government of his Kingdom upon himself, and to endeavour to rescue it from that eminent Danger wherein it was fallen through the pernicious Councils of the Marshal and his Wife; and by the means of the outrageous and insatiable Ambition. And to the end that the King might be firmly established in the Exercise of his Royal Power, and that on this account the Male-contents which were very numerous, might be all reduced to their Obedience, it was ordered that the Queen should also be desired to make choice of one of her own, or of the Kings Houses, at a little distance from *Paris* to reside therein for some Months, during which time the King might be settled in the absolute Possession of his Kingdom, and afterwards would send for her to take the second Place in his Council, in which it was determined to recall the Ancient Ministers of the late King his Father that had been laid aside, and to expel the greatest part of those that were thought to be introduced by the Marshal *d'Ancre* and his Wife:

it was also concluded that Monsieur de Vitry, Captain of his Majesties Life-Guards should be employed to Arrest the Marshal d' *Axere*: but that no notice should be given him thereof till a few days before the Execution, however Monsieur de *Luines* failed not to discover the Design to him. It is most certain, and I know his Majesty cannot but remember, that my Lord Cardinal and Duke of *Richelieu* then Bishop of *Lusson* and Secretary of State for Military and Foreign Affairs, discharged that Office with so much Judgment and Integrity, and gave such signal Proofs of his Affection and Fidelity to his Majesties Service and the public Good of the Kingdom, that he received great Satisfaction, and was fully perswaded that in keeping him near his Person, he might reap extraordinary Advantages from his good Conduct, insomuch that he resolved to retain him and to dismiss the other Ministers that were employed with him.

This Council being taken was not so soon put in Execution as well because the time was not proper for such an under-

undertaking, as by Reason of the fear with which some of the principal Agents were possessed, lest the event should not happen according to their expectation, this caused them often to doubt and to alter their measures, in-
 somuch that without giving any notice to the King, nor to those Persons that remained constant with his Majesty in the Resolution that had been taken, they agreed to attend him about Mid-
 night, and to perswade him that for the Security of his Person it was necessary for him to depart that very hour and to get into *Soissons*, which was then besieged by his Army com-
 manded by the Duke of *Angoulesme*, that he should there declare his Intentions and should publicly act as a King. To this end on the 14th. day of *March*, 1617. about Six of the Clock in the Evening Monsieur *de Luines* commanded the Officers of the great and little Stables in the Kings Name to make ready all the Horses against Mid-night, and took so little care to conceal the cause of this Order that the chief Groom of the great Horse-Guard knew the Particulars, who soon
 revealed

vealed them to one of his Friends, that had been (as I think) a Lieutenant at the Siege of *Clermont* and at that time lived with Monsieur *Mangot* Keeper of the Seals, whom he also acquainted with what had been declared to him.

I accidentally, and, as I believe, very opportunely met with him when he received this News which he imparted to me, and desired to know my Opinion, for upon consideration of what might happen he seemed to be much perplexed, whether he should disclose the Matter to the Queen-Mother or not, I agreed with him that it was convenient to be silent, and promised immediately to endeavour to discover the truth, and if possible to frustrate the Design, in case I could find that it was really intended. However Monsieur *de Luynes* denied that there was any such thing in agitation, but being urged, confessed it, and would have perswaded me to approve it, and instantly to go with him to cause the King to resolve upon it; But there were so many and weighty Reasons such alledged against this ill-digested Proposition that

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it was laid aside, whereupon having given *M. Mangot* an account, we persisted in our first determination not to mention it to any. After the Kings inclinations were sought in relation to this project, I know not whether it would have been attempted if he had consented to it, but I was informed that his Majesty soon rejected it, declaring that he would not depart from the resolution that had been taken in his Presence.

Although secrecy is the very life of great enterprizes, and ought to have been carefully observed in this, by reason of the inevitable dangers that the Persons engaged, as also the whole Kingdom, would be exposed to, if it should be discovered; nevertheless many that conversed with *M. de Luines*, some of whom had advised him to this design, were informed by him what measures and resolutions were taken. On the other side *M. de Vitry* having declared to his neighbours and intimate acquaintance, and they again to others, it was so far divulged, that it became the common discourse throughout all *Paris*, as a thing that was ready

dy to be put in execution. One *Tra-
vail*, whom we shall have occasion to
mention hereafter, was one of those
to whom *M. de Luines* had revealed it,
and he communicated it to the Chan-
cellor *de Sillery* whose Pensioner he
was, and who furnished him with no-
tions and opinions to be imparted to
M. de Luines, but so dextrously, that
if the matter came to light, he
could not be convicted of having
any hand therein; *M. de Villeroy* and
President *Jeanin* acted the same Part,
with the intelligence that they in like
manner had received from others that
were their particular Friends, and indeed
all three were continually upon the
Watch, to get some advantage by this
revolution in case it happened accor-
ding to their expectation.

However it is certain that none of their
expedients were Practised, because they
spake obscurely, and as it were through
a Pipe, and the design was made so
public, that it came to the Ears of the
Queen Mother, and to those of the
Marshal and his Wife, and of some
other Ministers of State, but they did
not seem much to regard it, as well
because

because they did not imagin that they that attended the King, were potent enough to undertake such an enterprize, as by reason of the orders that his Majesty had given on this occasion, for he had subtilly introduced into the Presence of the Queen his Mother two Familiar Friends of *M. de Luines*, who igning to give her an account of all that was transacted by him, told her that divers Persons had made Propositions to him, to drive out the Marshal and his Wife together with the new Ministers of State, to recal the old Counsellors, and to cause the King to take upon him the Administration of the Government ; but that *M. de Luines* through their Advice, had rejected all these vain projections, which he durst not venture to attempt, besides that he desir'd to Advance his Fortune in a fair way under the Protection of the Queen, that had already conferred many Favours upon him on several occasions.

As for the King, I am certain that none can truly boast that they received the least intimation from him, by which it might be inferred that he had any

any thoughts tending to such a design, or that he had so earnest a desire to Act as a real King: on the contrary having taken a resolution ever since the first conference, that was managed on this Subject in his Presence, to conceal his intentions, he affected to be employed in Exercise and Diversifements, not agreeable to his Dignity and Disposition, demeaning himself after so close and subtil a manner, that none could discern his dissimulation; only the *Sieur Bellier* an ingenious and valiant Gentleman of *Dauphine*, who was lately come out of his own Country, having observed his Majesty, advised one of his Friends that had some interest in the Fortune of the Marshal, to take care of himself, for the King under the colour of mean Actions, with which he passed away the time, did undoubtedly cover some design of a change, and being thus perswaded, in regard that he was not in Favour with the Marshal, he thought fit constantly to wait on his Majesty, to serve him as an opportunity should be offered, and indeed without having any knowledge of the Affairs in Agitation, he was

with

with him when the Marshal was killed, as shall be shewed hereafter.

The Marshal *d'Ancre* had taken a journey into *Normandy*, intending to reside there for some time. As well to cause the Fortifications of *Quillebœuf* to be finished, which he had undertaken for several considerations well known, as to dispatch certain Affairs that he had at *Roven*, and to take necessary measures for the securing of of that City and some other Places, that he thought to be advantageous to his design ; but his Majesty of whom he had taken leave for a long time seeing him come back so suddenly, and at unawares without being sent for, and without any apparent reason of so precipitate a return, was easily perswaded to believe, that he came upon the Advice of his Wife or of some of his confederates, because certain Persons since his departure had taken upon them to inform the Queen, that the King intended to act himself, and to cause the Marshal and his Wife to be removed, as being the principal cause of the present Commotions, that were ready to invade all the Parts of the Kingdom. The

The King having embraced this opinion, judged that if he did not take care to prevent his further Progress, he might attempt to deprive him of the means that he had proposed to stop the course of his irregular and violent Proceedings, to take the Government of the Kingdom into his own hands, and to put an end to the disorders that were caused therein by his exorbitant ambition : therefore his Majesty urged his faithful Friends to prepare all things that were requisite for the immediate executing of the resolution that had been formerly taken.

They were but few in number that were privy to this design, though after it was accomplished, many gained advantages thereby, the *Sieur de Modenes*, a Kinsman of *M. de Luines*, who was then at Court knew nothing of it, till a few hours before it was put in execution : however some yet doubted and urged the former Advice that the King ought to go to *Soissons*, but the same reasons that had been already opposed, caused it to be again exploded, insomuch that it was concluded to proceed without further delay. From

From *Sunday* at Night, to *Monday* the 24th of *April* 1617. *M. de Luines*, *M. de Vitry* and some other that were employed in this Affair, took care to give notice to their most intimate Friends that were Men of courage, and well affected to his Majesties Person, to come into the Court of the *Louvre* between the hours of eight and nine in the Morning, on occasion of a pretended quarrel; but the real intent was to make use of them in case of any uproar or tumult, because the Marshal *d'Ancre* was always accompanied with a very strong Guard; and that these Persons appearing in the Court, might not afford any cause of suspicion to the Marshal, the Commissioners of the Registry——were appointed to be Assembled in the Council-Chamber on *Monday* Morning to the end, that the great Train of Attendants that are usually gathered together at such a time, might serve to conceal the others that were ordered to be present. The King gave it out that he had taken a Purge, that the Great Gate of the *Louvre* might be kept shut, and the little door only opened; that by this means

means the whole retinue of the Marshal d' *Ancre*, might be prevented from following him: the Sentinels were assisted with certain resolute and valiant Persons, who upon a Word given, were to seize on a dozen of Halbards, that were under some pretence brought into a little Chamber near the Gate, and were to be commanded by a Gentleman that was privy to the design: *Commeillan* Lieutenant of the Gate was charged to attend there, and to open the Great Gate when the Marshal came, but as soon as he was passed to shut it, saying that he would open the lesser, which nevertheless he should keep lockt, till he had received Orders to open it.

About Ten of the Clock, the Marshal came, whose Train reached from the Gate of his own House to that of the *Louvre*, which was opened after the manner above related, and over which a Man stood, who, as soon as the Marshal had enter'd, made three Flourishes with his Hat, at this Signal, which was agreed upon, *Commeillan* shut the Gate, and at the same time *M. de Vitry* who was on the Stairs of the

the

the *Smitiers* Hall, came down accompanied with some of his Kinsmen and other Gentlemen and Officers of his Majesties Life-Guard, to seize on the Person of the Marshal *d' Ancre*, when he had met him at the *Pont Dormant*, he said, *I Arrest you in the Kings Name: Who me?* replied the Marshal: whereupon in that very moment, one of his retinue having laid his hand on his Sword, was the cause that three Pistols were discharged: with which the Marshal *d' Ancre* was shot dead, and fell to the Ground: immediately there arose a great noise in the *Louvre*, and the most part of the Gentlemen that were in the Court, not knowing the true cause of their being ordered to attend, and hearing the report of the Pistols, and the People crying kill, kill, drew their Swords, one amongst them being very much affrighted, went up to the Kings Chamber, who was ready dress'd, and told him that the Marshal *d' Ancre* was missed; and that he came thither with his Sword in his hand, thinking it necessary to provide for the safety of his Majesties Person; it is certain that without any consternation

nation he demanded his Sword, and seeing the above-mentioned *Sieur d' Belier* near him, whom he knew to be a Gentleman of extraordinary judgment, experience and valour, spake to him saying, *M. d' Belier, What course must be taken? This is necessary to be done* (said he) *since your Majesty appears with so much courage and resolution, go to them, and run them through the Belly, that all Paris may see whether they dare resist you.* Thereupon his Majesty with his Sword at his side came as far as the Great Hall, and having instantly shewn himself at the Windows; there arose a great Acclamation, the multitude crying, *God save the King,* with which the whole *Louvre* resounded. The occurrences that happened afterwards being sufficiently known, and printed in several places, it would be needless to insist on those particulars, I shall only add, that the King had no Guards left except one Company of the *Sieur Fourville*, part of which was then upon duty and being chosen by the Marshal *d' Ancre*, it was feared least they should depend on his interests, which was the reason that his Majesty

Majesty did not think fit, to employ
 them in this conjuncture, nevertheless
 he was afterwards informed that they
 had no correspondence with him.
 Certain Collonels and Captains of the
 Quarters of the City, even those that
 were near the *Louvre*, were engaged
 and promised to cause the Souldiers
 under their command to take up Arms
 in his Majesties Service, in case there
 should be occasion, they were disposed
 there, under colour, that for default of a
 Regiment of Guards, the King desired
 to be guarded by the *Parisians*, upon
 an information that he received, that
 some enterprize was intended to be
 executed in the *Louvre*: Orders were
 also given to Seal up every thing in the
 Marshals House, and to set Guards
 for that purpose: but some being more
 diligent in managing their own Pri-
 vate Affairs, than in discharging the
 trust committed to them, and being
 enticed by one of his Foot-men, with
 the Bait of a few pieces of Gold, were
 so eager after the Money; that the
 fellow took an opportunity to escape in
 the Night with the Trunk, wherein his
 Masters Private Papers and Writings
 were

were contained, and amongst the rest those that related to his Secret Correspondence with Foreigners.

Although the King had conceived no bad opinion of the other Ministers of State, and he had been assured that they were not the least concerned in the sinister designs of the Marshal *d'Ancre*, nevertheless to gain more reputation to the new Scene of Affairs, which his Majesty was about to introduce, he thought fit to recal the Ancient Counsellors, that had served under the Late King his Father, whom the Marshal *d'Ancre* and his Wife had caused to be dismissed, *viz.* *M. d'Sillery* the Chancellor, *M. de Vair* Keeper of the Seals, *M. de Villeroy* Secretary of State, and the President *Jeanin*, Super-Intendant of the Treasury. They were commanded to hold a Counsel the same day, where his Majesty was pleased to declare his Intentions, that my Lord Cardinal then Bishop of *Lusson*, should continue in the exercise of his Office, in regard of the assurance he had of his affection, fidelity and extraordinary abilities, having ordered him to attend in the Counsel to that purpose:

purpose: The old States-men foreseeing that since his clear and piercing judgment far excelled theirs, they would be no longer esteemed as the Oracles of the State as they desired to be repured, raised all the obstructions t^t they could invent, and though the King remained firm on his behalf, nevertheless for certain considerations that his eminency can better reveal than any other, he declared that he would not promptorily insist on this point, but would choose rather to serve in some other Capacity.

The King considering that the Queen his Mother was discontented with what had passed, and even with the desire that he had signified to her, that she would vouchsafe to permit him during some months, to manage his Affairs alone, and that to appease her Passion, to give her such Advice as was necessary for the good of the Kingdom, and to maintain a good correspondence between their Majesties, none was so proper and capable as his Eminency, desired him to reside near her, which he accepted, but upon condition,

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dition, that it should not be expected from him to espy out her actions, nor to divulge those Passages that might happen, in conversing with her; for his Eminency avouched, That if he found that his good Counsel was not embraced, and that any measures were taken, with which his Majesty should have just cause to be displeased, he would soon withdraw himself into his Bishoprick; these last words spoken with a good intent, served nevertheless as a pretence for those that envied his vertue, to procure him to be removed, as shall be observed in its due place.

From that time his Eminency was alone employed to manage the Affairs that passed between their Majesties, and digested the matter of the expressions that were delivered by them, when the Queen Mother departed for *Blois*, which were written in a more elegant stile and more judiciously, than those that are produced in the *French Mercury*, perhaps if enquiry were made, they might be recovered, since there were several Copies of them taken.

Before

Before the Queen went from *Paris* on her journey to *Blois*, one called *Travail* who hath been above-mentioned, made application to the Secretary of the *Marquess de Bressieux*, who was at that time Principal Master of the Horse to her Majesty, and endeavoured to prevail with him to persuade his Master, to cause her to be Poysoned, *Monsieur Deageant* who suspected the intreagues of this *Travail*, having perceived that they had talked together a long while, enquired of the Secretary what was the Subject of their Discourse, who related it to him, and he immediately went and acquainted the King with it, who caused him to be sent to the Parliament, where he was tryed, and was confronted with *Monsieur de Luines* to whom he had imparted something of this design, as also with *Monsieur de Bressieux* and his Secretary, the latter was obliged to appear because his Secretary had discovered the wicked intentions of *Travail*.

A little after that time a Gentleman named *Gignier*, practised one of the most cunning and artificial cheats that can be imagined, with a design to advance his fortune thereby, being a Person of a most subtile and crafty disposition. An Uncle of his, was Lieutenant of a Company of Guards belonging to the Duke of *Vendome*, and had served him in the last Wars of the Princess, through his means this *Gignier* ingratiated himself with the Duke of *Vendome*, and the other Princes and Lords that had withdrawn themselves from Court, and were pursued by the Kings Forces. After their reconciliation with his Majesty *Gignier* being introduced into the Presence of *Monsieur de Luines*, made a very formal and plausible relation to him, that he had obtained the favour of all these Princes and Lords, insomuch that they did not conceal their secrets from him, and that although his Majesty had laid so great an obligation on them, in receiving them so graciously, and restoring them all to their Offices; nevertheless they ceased not to have a watchful Eye, to find

find out an opportunity to accomplish their ambitious enterprizes by raising commotions in the Kingdom; but if *Monsieur de Luines*, to whose interests he promised entirely to devote himself, would confide in him, and should think it convenient that in keeping a good correspondence with these Lords, he should discourse their actions and intentions, in order to give him an account thereof, he would acknowledge in process of time, that his service would prove not a little advantageous to his Majesty, as also to himself in particular: On the other side he affected to appear an intimate friend of *Monsieur de Luines*, and endeavoured to perswade these Princes and Lords to believe it, with a promise to serve them, especially the Duke of *Vendome*, whom he saw oftner than the others; by this artifice, he began to make a discovery of them to *Monsieur de Luines* and of him to them; but he enjoyned both the one and the others to dissemble what they knew, and to take no more notice of one another, than they formerly used to do, till the proper time that he should de-

elate to them ; afterwards esteeming that he had caused a strong suspicion and jealousy between them, and having prepared divers inventions to cover his wicked devices, he came one day pretending to be in a great fright, to find out *Monsieur de Luines*, and told him that he had one of the greatest, most dangerous and most cruel designs to disclose to him that ever was contrived in *France* ; but he demanded two things, one was that he should not communicate what he had revealed to him, to any, not so much as to *Monsieur Deageant*, who was then employed in managing the principal transactions, and the other, that he should be assured that after he had given some light into this conspiracy, he should be established in the Government of *Calais*, or of some other Sea-port Town, for the security of his Person, and should be gratified with an hundred thousand Crowns, as a means whereby to Advance his Family ; having obtained a grant of this recompence, he informed *Monsieur de Luines*, that a Plot was laid between the Cardinal of *Guise*, the Dukes of

of Cheureuse, Maine Vendôme, Nevers, Longueville and Bonillon, in which they had engaged *Monsieur de Cœuvres*, President *le Fay*, and some other Lords and Gentlemen whom he named, that their first enterprize was to put to death *Monsieur de Luines* and *Monsieur Deageant*, to banish all the other Ministers of State, to seize on the King, to recal the Queen Mother in his Majesties name, to get the Power into their own hands, and afterwards to take Possession of the Provinces, which were to be divided amongst them, and that some had proceeded so far, that if the King endeavour'd to make any resistance, he should be destroy'd. He further assured *Monsieur de Luines*, that these Gentlemen or the greater part of them, were often privately assembled together sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another, to confer about their design, and that he being admitted into their consult, knew all their resolutions, and would faithfully relate them to him. Thus he entertained him with such discourses for several days, pretending divers meetings, and

at last to remove all doubts and scruples that might arise, he advised him to choose some friend in whom he could confide, to the end that he might introduce him at a time appointed without acquainting him with the cause, and might shew him these Lords or part of them, going privily in the night to their convention: But he himself was the sole manager that brought them together, sometimes under a pretence to converse with certain Ladies, whom he caused to be there present, and sometimes inviting them to play at some game, and that it might seem more probable that there was such a design, he ordered the Affairs after such a manner, that these Assemblies were always holden in the night, and that those that appeared therein, came alone, and were perceived at a considerable distance from the House, into which they enter'd through several Doors. The Person whom *Monsieur de Luines* deputed, assured him that he had seen them twice, according to the same circumstances as *Gignier* had related.

On

On a certain day he desired his Uncle the Lieutenant of the Duke of *Vendome's* Company of Guards, to send him two of his Souldiers, whom he knew to be resolute fellows: he gave to each of them a Pistol ready charged, primed and cockt, and placed them at the bottom of the Stairs of the *Lowvre*, requiring them to wait there, till he should bring them further Orders from the Officer, he told them also that he intended that they should go Hunting along with him, having set them in this posture, he came as it were amazed to *Monsieur de Luines*, and declared that he certainly knew that two Sentinel were appointed to kill him and *Monsieur Deageant*, if he were with him when he went to Dine in the great Hall near the Counsel Chamber, that at the same time, several Gentlemen were ordered to facilitate their retreat through the Court of the Kitchens, in the House of the Duke of *Vendome*, where there was a private passage; but you must be content (said he to *Monsieur de Luines*) if I only shew you these two Souldiers, with their Pistols in their hands ready to dis-

charge, neither must you ask them any other question but this, whether they do not belong to the Duke of *Vendome*. He had moreover desired those that belonged to the retinue of the said Duke, who was then with the King in the *Lowvre*, to attend at the bottom of the Stairs, which they also did, whereupon he shewed all these things to *Monsieur de Luines* exactly as he had described them, which he might very easily do, since he himself had disposed them in this order. He perswaded him that it was not convenient as yet to Arrest these Souldiers, that he could take them up when he pleased, and that if they were seized, the Gentlemen believing their designs to be divulged would hasten the execution of them, and would take such measures as might prevent their being apprehended and entangled all at once as it were in one Net; as he had Advised. From that very hour he continually solicited *Monsieur de Luines*, who having according to his promise kept the secret for some time, and indeed too long, at last revealed it to *Monsieur Deageant*, that he might find

find out some Means to frustrate these dangerous machinations without communicating them to the other Ministers, because *Gignier* had represented them all as guilty, by reason of the particular affection that they bore to some of the Lords of the Conspiracy. *Deageant* told him, that the relation he had exhibited to him, carried an appearance of some ill design, but that he could scarce believe that it was intended to be undertaken; that it was to be feared least some deceit should lye hid at the bottom, that the Affair being of that consequence, it required a diligent security, and ought to be more thoroughly examined; in the mean time he concluded that they should stand on their Guard, without shewing the least sign of distrust or suspicion. He desired to hear *Gignier* himself, being of opinion that from his mouth, and by his countenance and demeanour, he might better judge of the truth of what he affirmed.

Gignier r

Gignier refus'd at several times to discover himself to Monsieur *Deageant*, but having consider'd that Monsieur *de Luines* had revealed the whole Matter to him, and would not proceed without his Assistance, he agreed to see him privately in one of the Chambers of the *Tuilleries*, and desired to be excused on the account that he had entreated Monsieur *de Luines*, not to declare this Secret to him, because he did not think him to be his Friend, but upon the assurance that Monsieur *de Luines* had given him to the contrary, he was resolv'd to open his Heart to him, and to conceal nothing relating to this Affair, in which he told him that his Life was concerned, since the Conspirators intended to begin their Enterprize with his Murther whom they esteem'd the only Person that could prevent the Execution thereof; he assur'd him that one named *Fisque* a Bastard of that Family, who was then Gentleman of the Horse to the Queen Regent, and was one of the familiar acquaintance of Monsieur *de Luines*, treacherously betrayed him, though he had never so good

good an Opinion of his Fidelity, was appointed to commit this execrable Assassinate. It was true indeed that Monsieur *Deageant*, was informed some days ago that this *Fiesque* waited for him in the Night, being well mounted on a good Horse with a pair of Pistols, to kill him as he was going out of the *Louvre*, from whence he never departed till Mid night; it is certain also that he was seen twice in this posture, and that he had given it out publicly enough, that he was an Enemy to *Deageant*, without alledging any other Cause but that he was, as it were, the Gardiners dog that would not eat the Cabbidge, nor suffer others to touch it, adding that several Persons of divers Ranks and Conditions, had bound themselves with an Oath to destroy him. *Gignier* having thus used various Expressions and Insinuations tending to obtain the good Opinion of Monsieur *Deageant*, related to him all that he had discovered to Monsieur *de Luines* concerning this Enterprize and the Circumstances thereof. Insomuch that there seemed to be a great probability of his Asse-
 verations,

verations, which he concluded with Reasons to perswade him that all the Lords that he had named ought to be forthwith secured in the *Bastile*, amongst whom he reckoned *M. de Guise*, affirming that after much Sollicitation he at last entered into the Conspiracy. *Deageant* feigning entirely to give credit to all that he had said, left him in hopes that he would ere long procure the recompence for him that he expected, and charged him to persevere in his care and diligence in this Affair; Nevertheless he remained firm in his first Opinion, that there was a greater appearance of a Cheat than of Truth in this Matter.

At another time *Gignier* came and gave Information that these Gentlemen began to suspect lest some one that was Privy to their Conspiracy should divulge it, and that they had taken a resolution not to Write one to another any longer, but to confide only in a few chosen Persons, by whom they would maintain a Correspondence for the future, without assembling together any more as they had formerly done, fearing lest these frequent meetings

ings should cause them to be discovered: Moreover he added that the principal Lords had caused Rings to be made for every one of them, on which were enchased Stones of a dark green Colour, and certain particular Characters Engraved, these were also to be given to such as had engaged themselves in their Design, as a Mark that they might be trusted: He avouched that some of them had these Rings on their Fingers, and on a certain Morning he brought one of them, saying, that it belonged to the Duke of *Vendome*; that he had found it on his Toylet, and that he must restore it the next day before he rise, lest he should perceive that it had been taken away: The Figure of it was immediately drawn, by which another was made after the same manner.

When he saw any of these Gentlemen assembled in the *Louvre*, he would soon intrude into their Company, pretending to impart some Secret to them, and afterwards would come to Monsieur de *Luynes* and Monsieur *Dea-gant* to tell them that they had discoursed of their Conspiracy. He would

would often appear with a very sad Countenance, because so little care was taken to provide for the Safety of the King's Person and his Kingdom, and to preserve the Lives of Monsieur *de Luines* and Monsieur *Deageant*, and in regard (as he said) the danger was apparent, for he expected every hour when the Design was put in Execution, since all things were already prepared in order to it, he would sometimes stamp with his Feet, and tear off the Hair of his Head, as it were in a Rage, because they had exposed him to such Perils, by neglecting to follow his advice.

It was not thought convenient to give the King any account of this Affair till necessity required it, lest it should cause him to be troubled or disturbed; he was only entreated to vouchsafe to chuse Six Gentlemen of good repute, three of whom should constantly wait on him whithersoever he should go, to hinder any unknown Person from accosting him; one of these Attendants was ordered to keep his Eyes continually fixt on his Majesty, and the two others on those that came near him. The

The Baptizing of one of the Duke of *Vendome's* Children, to whom the King had engaged himself to stand as God-Father, gave *Gignier* a fair opportunity to set so good a Colour on his Cheat, that he thought it would pass for an undoubted truth. The day was appointed, and the Duke had caused to be prepared a very magnificent Entertainment at his House, for his Majesty had promised to go thither with an intention to divert himself: the day before, in the Evening *Gignier* came to Monsieur de *Luines* and Monsieur *Deageant*, and with Oaths, Imprecations, and very perswasive Arguments, assured them that the Conspirators had resolved to Poyson the King, and to kill Monsieur de *Luines*, at the Collation, and had given it out that the latter should neither eat nor drink there, for they intended to cause him to be assassinated with Halbards by *French* Soldiers in the habit of *Switzers*. He protested thereupon that if all these Lords were not apprehended that Night or the next Morning, he would depart, to avoid the Storm that was ready to break over their Heads. It

It was thought necessary at that time to unfold the Matter to some of the other Ministers of State. Monsieur *de Vair* Keeper of the Seals, was one against whom *Gignier* had made no objection, therefore it was communicated to him, and he also undertook to discourse with him, who palliated his Cheat so artificially, that he took upon him to accuse Monsieur *Deageant* as having been too remiss and negligent in discovering and preventing this Conspiracy; but after he had heard his Reasons given by the latter, he was satisfied, since care had been taken of the principal Point, which was the preservation of his Majesties Person. Monsieur *de Luines* and Monsieur *Deageant* resolved to acquaint the King with what had passed, and to entreat him to feign that he intended to be present the next day at the Baptizing of the Child, but really to decline it by making a shew of being indisposed; however no notice of this was given to *Gignier*. Some hours before that appointed for the Administration of the Baptism, the King went to hear Vespers at *Feillans*, where
about

about the end of the Service he counterfeited a Fit of the Colic so dextrously that in a moment his Face began to wax Pale; they that were near him, said, that he was taken very ill, to whom he replied, *No, this is nothing, let not a word be spoken of it, for I intend to see the Child baptised and afterwards to go to the Collation:* His Majesty's chief Physitian was immediately sent for, who having received a private Intimation, felt his Pulse and seemed to be displeased that he had been left there so long; The Duke of Vendome came thither and entreated the King to vouchsafe that the Solemnity of the Baptism should be deferred to some other time, alledging that his Majesties Health was more precious than all things in the World; not long after he was put into a Coach and carried to the *Louvre*, where he took a Clyster, and the next day a little Physic, according to the Method that had been already permeditated.

The Duke of Vendome having perceived that the Kings Indisposition lasted but a little while, inferred from thence.

thence and from some coldness that he thought he had observed in his Majesties deportment towards him, that he was suspected, and that there was somewhat more than ordinary in agitation, that might prove to his Prejudice; therefore he endeavoured to penetrate into it, and on a certain day as he happened to discourse with his Lieutenant, *Gigniers* Uncle about this Matter, he replied that he was very much afraid least his Nephew should have contrived some ill Design, and declared that he had told him some days ago, that he should very suddenly obtain great Riches and Preterment, and should be made Governour of one of the strong Places of the Kingdom, the Lieutenanty whereof he desired him to accept, and that he had borrowed of him two Soldiers of the Guards, as hath been above-mentioned, who at their return, related to him the Circumstances of the Force, that he had caused them to act with their Pistols in the *Lower*; upon this intelligence the Duke reflecting on divers Actions that *Gignier* had lately performed with respect to him and the other Lords, was easily persuaded

swaded that he had done him an Injury; insomuch that about Eleven of the Clock at Night he found out Monsieur de Luines and Monsieur Deageant in the *Louvre*, to whom he represented that he understood that one *Gignier* had maliciously charged him with being engaged in a most wicked and horrid Conspiracy, that he was ready to clear himself before the King; the Parliament and wheresoever necessity required, and that he came on purpose to commit himself into his Majesties Hands, with a request that *Gignier* might be Arrested in order to be confronted with him. Having considered the Artifices that he had made use of, he acknowledged that he and the others that were falsely accused, had Reason to applaud their good Conduct, it being probable that they had all resolved to defend themselves. *Gignier* was lately Married at *Paris* when an Officer of the Guard was ordered to apprehend him, and to bring him into the Prison that belonged to the Palace, he had promised on the next day to seize on a certain Fellow that in the habit of

of a Cordelier endeavoured to raise a Commotion in the Kingdom, but it was thought fit rather to lose the opportunity of taking him, than to neglect the means of discovering this Imposture, and of vindicating the innocence of the Duke of *Vendome*, which could not be done but from the Mouth of the Calumniator, who hearing that his Intrigues were divulged might take an occasion to fly from Justice.

At his first Interrogatory in the Parliament, he freely confessed the Cheat, and thereupon had his Head cut off according to their Decree: I should not have enlarged so much on this Narrative, were it not that an account of this Fact hath been Printed altogether different from what happened, and therefore I thought it convenient (if it deserved any place in History) to exhibit a true Relation thereof.

But to return to the Affairs relating to the Queen-Mother; it is most certain that as long as his Eminency remained with her, and the prudent Industry of Monsieur de *Luines* prevented

ted the Operation of the Poyson that was diffused abroad, a good Correspondence was maintained between their Majesties, who studied altogether how they might express one to another the mutual Testimonies of respect and kindness. But the latter having withdrawn himself by degrees from Monsieur *Deageant* who gave him good Advice, and being led away as well by the perswasions of other Ministers, every one of whom in particular strove to obtain his Favour with a Design to Rule according to their own Passions, as by the pernicious Councils of divers private Persons who endeavoured to Embroil the State, that they might advance their Fortunes by the means of some public Dissension or Change; the good Orders that had been instituted for the Administration of Affairs, and chiefly for the preservation of the Union between their Majesties began by little and little to be laid aside; insomuch that by the Artifices of such Incendiaries those Jealousies were kindled betwen them, that broke out in a flame within a few Months after.

To

To this end the Table of the Wolf was put in Practice: For altho Monsieur *Deageant* had no other prospect but the Service of his Majesty, the propagation of Religion, the Peace of the Kingdom, and the particular good of Monsieur *de Luines*, nevertheless he was discharged from the managing of public Transactions, and forasmuch as during his Employment therein he had always clearly represented to the King, the Intentions that were daily practised, to cause him to suspect the Negotiations of his Eminency with the Queen-Mother, he was no sooner removed from the Council, but they that envied him on the one side, and they that designed to hinder the Re-union of their Majesties on the other, acted their parts with double diligence, sometimes they forged Letters, and sometimes they introduced their Emissaries to perswade the King to lose the good Opinion that he had conceived of his Eminency; however it is certain that his Majesty retained so high an Esteem for him, that all these Efforts could not produce the Effect that was expected.

At

At last an accidental opportunity was offered which served to accomplish their Design; a Letter from one of the above-mentioned Emissaries was read in the Council of the Dispatches, which pretended to give an account of some of the secret and sinister Practices of his Eminency, and that he had engaged a Party of Soldiers for the Queen-Mother in *Picton*; the Ancient Ministers of State failed not immediately to take a resolution to advise the King in the Council that was to be holden at eleven of the Clock in his presence, that his Eminency ought to be removed from the Queen; indeed they left no stone unturned to this end, but were not able to effect it: but it happened that Monsieur de *Chauteaufort* the Elder, who was in the Council of the Dispatches, not being privy to the Secret, believed that the Motion that had been made, would be approved by his Majesty; which was the occasion that he went on Foot from the *Lowvre* to his own House, and meeting with the late Monsieur de *Richelieu* acquainted him with what was concluded thereupon. It was

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thought

thought that Monsieur de Richelieu wrote to his Eminency to advice him to avoid the Storm by retiring of his own accord, which he did. Upon the account of this and of the protestation that he had made to the King when he thought fit to appoint him to reside with the Queen-Mother, viz. That if he perceived that she intended to adhere to evil Councils, and would not be diverted from them, he would withdraw himself without making any mention thereof; those Persons that had undertaken to supplant him, told the King that his retreat after this manner made it apparent enough that the Queen-Mother intended to cause Arms to be taken up against his Majesty; Moreover they forged false Relations of the Actions of his Eminency, and there being none to discover their Artifices, they counterfeited a Letter that order'd him to depart to *Avignon*.

The Queen-Mother who remained at *Blois* in expectation of the performance of the Promises that had been made to her, that she should be re-admitted

mitted in a little time into the Kings
 Presence and Councils (as it was with-
 out doubt his Majesties intention) see-
 ing all these Proceedings, concluded
 not without some grounds that she
 was deceived, and that they that were
 about the King intended to destroy
 her, insomuch that under this imagi-
 nation being destitute of the good
 Councils that were given her by his
 Eminency, she sought for some means
 to put her self in such a Condition as
 to be able to get an Advantage over
 those whom she took to be her Ad-
 versaries, amongst the discontented
 Party, and amongst those whom she
 thought she had more particularly
 obliged. Instead of the advice of the
 Cardinal of *Richelieu*, she made use
 of that of the Abbot of *Rouelay*,
 who induced her to proceed to ex-
 tremities, against the King and to di-
 minish the high Esteem that she had
 always expressed of his Eminencies
 Fidelity and Generosity, whose ap-
 proach he dreaded being very sensible
 that it would be impossible for him
 to resist the force of his incomparable
 Judgment that far excelled his. He

caused also the Bishop Elect of *Besiers* to lose her Favour, pretending that he endeavoured to delude her, though he was altogether innocent. Thus several Factions arose in the Kingdom, which coming to the Kings Ear, obliged him to stand on his Guard, and to set a watch over the Actions of those to whom the Queen his Mother had made application, and of those whom (as he was informed) she had employed in her Design; She was offended at this, and complained thereof to his Majesty, who endeavoured by all possible means to divert her from these Thoughts, and to perswade her to that which was true, that he desired nothing more ardently than their Reunion and good Correspondence.

Several of those that had obtained the Kings Favour, finding that they could not acquire so much power over the Inclinations of Monsieur de *Luines* as they desired, and consequently could not obtain a greater Influence over his Majesty; attempted to render Monsieur de *Luines* more and more odious to the Queen-Mother, although during the time that I was conversant

conversant there, I never observed that he deserved it: they imagined that if they ruined him under the name of the Queen-Mother and promoted her return, she would think her self obliged to them, and would chuse rather to see them near the King than all the rest, many others that were desirous of Novelty and Change were engaged in this Project to the same end.

Some have published that the Princes that were retired from the Court; against whom the Kings Forces were employed, were privy to the Design contrived against the Marshal *d'Ancre* and underhand solicited the Execution; however it is most true that they had no knowledge thereof, and that if they had not readily returned to their Duty, his Majesty was resolved to continue to prosecute them with War, and to Command his Army in Person; but immediately after the Death of the Marshal *de Ancre*, some of their Kindred made most humble Submissions to his Majesty on their behalf: And whereas they proposed a certain Treaty, that they might enjoy the benefit

benefit thereof, as hath been practised in former Insurrections ; his Majesty was graciously pleased to answer, that if they would become Obedient and Loyal Subjects for the future, he would receive them with open Arms, would Pardon them, and would make them sensible of the Effects of his Munificence, according as they should render themselves worthy thereof by their Actions: His Majesty required them too, without delay to meet, him at *Bois de Vincennes* ; but they made some difficulty at first to appear there, fearing lest they should be seized, but being assured by his Royal Word to the contrary, they surmounted this fear, and having according to the Kings Command dismissed all the Forces that they had raised they came and begged his Majesties Pardon on their Knees ; who afterwards disbanded his Armies, reserving only fifteen Thousand Men for the relief of *Verseil* which belonged to the Duke of *Savoy*, and was besieged by the *Spaniards* to whom it was formerly left as a Prey through the Artifices of the Marshal *de Ancre* and his Wife.

The

The King prepared a stock to defray the Charges of this Army that was ready to March, for Three Months, and caused it to be returned by Bills of Exchange to *Lyons*, according to the desire of the Treasurer at War ; the Duke of *Angouleme* was Commander in chief, who being urged to depart with all speed, because *Versail* was reduced to great extremity, replied, that as soon as the Money was ready at *Lyons*, he would ride Post thither, and declared that altho good Bills of Exchange had been drawn, nevertheless he was informed that there was something that retarded the Payment: The Treasurer at War was thereupon ordered to attend in the Council, where he affirmed that the Cash was ready at *Lyons*; to know the truth, a Post was immediately dispatched, who found the Bills of Exchange accepted, and the Money ready to be counted before it was demanded ; the King having received this Advice, gave notice thereof to the Duke of *Angouleme*, who persisted in averring that his Majesty was deceived in this Point: The Treasurer

was again Summon'd to appear, and charged to give a true account of this Matter, otherwise the King would send him to the Parliament to be tryed: Upon this he whispered in the Ear of one of his Majesties Privy Councillors and told him that the Money indeed was ready at *Lyons*; but that some of the other Ministers had enjoyned him to use these delays, after enquiry it was found to be true. Their excuse was, that seeing this Affair so vehemently prosecuted, and fearing least a War should break forth between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* they had taken this course, upon the promise that the Duke of *Monteleon*, the King of *Spain's* Ambassador in *France*, had given them, That as soon as the City should be delivered into the hands of the *Spaniards*, they would restore it at the instance of his Majesty, his Master being obliged to this only in vindication of his Honour, that was engaged in the taking of this Place, since (as he affirmed) the Duke of *Savoy* had begun the Quarrel. Thus for want of the Assistance of *France*, *Verseil* was surrendered

surrendered upon Composition to the Besiegers, who kept it so long, contrary to the Treaties and Articles of Capitulation that were then made, that none expected ever to see it again in the hands of the Duke of *Savoy*. I shall not here enlarge on the several Embassies and Negotiations that were managed on this account, since that may be better performed by another hand: And as for the restitution of the Place to his Highness of *Savoy*, Father *Joseph* can give a more certain Relation thereof than any, since it was restored upon his Mediation, at a time (as I have said) when every one despaired, even the Ancient Ministers of State themselves.

The Agent of the Duke of *Florence* was one of those that were engaged in the Cabal at Court addicted to the Interests of the Queen-Mother or rather of those that endeavoured under her name to cause some Commotion in the Kingdom, who amongst others had two *Florentine* Young Men named *Syti* for his Emissaries that had been in the Service of *Madam d'Ancre*. It was well known that he practised some

ill Offices, and tho his Proceedings were diligently observed, yet nothing could be discovered but by accidental Event: One day he sent by a Messenger of *Nancy* a large Pacquet in which were contained Letters for the Dutchess of *Lorraine* and some others with whom he maintained a Correspondence, together with certain Memorials in which were specified the Names of several Persons that (as he said) were gained by the care of the Queen-Mother, some of whom were near the King, and were in Credit with Monsieur de *Luines*; mention was also made therein of the Services of the two Brothers *Syti* and of one called *Durand*: the Messenger was charged that if he were pursued, he should secretly convey his Pacquet into some Bush, and afterwards should go, and take it again; it happened that being on the High-way that borders on the River *Marne* near *Lagny*, he saw certain Horse-men riding a pace after him, and thinking to hide his Pacquet securely, he thrust it so far through a Thicket that it fell into the River, afterwards without regarding what became of it he turned out of the

the Road; and fled for fear of being taken: Monsieur *de Marcheville* as he was travelling from *Paris* to *Lorrain* saw this Pacquet floating on the Water, and caused it to be taken up by one of his Foot-men; the Superscription being so wet that it could not easily be discerned to whom it was directed, he imagined that it was for Monsieur *Deageant*, therefore he immediately dispatched the same Laquey that had taken it out of the Water to carry it to him: *M. Deageant* soon found that it was directed to Persons that were suspected, and that the Superscription was Written by the younger *Syti*, whose hand he knew, having formerly recovered some of his Writings upon the Suspicion that happened concerning him and his Brother: He brought it to the King who caused it to be read in his presence, as also the Letters and Memorials therein enclosed, and forthwith summoned the Ministers of State to meet and deliberate thereupon.

At the same time, and very opportunely, certain Merchants of *Provence* came to make a complaint to his Majesty,

jesty, that the Duke of *Florence* had
 caused two great Vessels that belonged
 to them laden with Corn to be seized
 in the Port of *Legorn* by way of re-
 prisal on occasion of two little Barks,
 which he said, were taken from some of
 his Subjects by the *French* on the coast
 of *Provence*. It was resolved in
 the Council to send for the Agent of
Florence, under colour of some Matters
 of Importance that they had received
 orders from the King to communicate
 to him; he soon appeared there, and
 his Majesty having withdrawn himself,
 as he entered into the Council-Hall,
 every one rose up as if they intended
 to depart; he made his Complements
 to the Company, which were returned
 to him, and then *M. de Vair*, Keeper
 of the Seals, the Chancellor *de Sillery*
 being absent, spake to him to this
 effect, Sir, the King hath commanded
 us to send for you to acquaint you that
 he hath thought it very strange that your
 Master should be so bold as to take upon
 him to seize on two French Vessels at
Legorn by way of reprisal, since he is
 not ignorant that such Practices are not
 usual between such petty Princes as he,
 and

and so potent a King as his Majesty, that it was very extraordinary, that after he had thus violated the respect due to his Majesty, he hath not used any of the Solemnities requisite and customary in Reprisals; that the King being justly offended at such Proceedings, was resolved to cause him to repent it ere long; and that upon this account, his Majesty being no longer able to confide in the Duke of Florence, nor consequently in his Agents, required him to depart that day from Paris and in three days after out of the Kingdom. The Agent replied, that he knew nothing of this reprisal, but that he was very certain that his Master wanted neither Respect nor Affection to the King, and that if time were allowed him to dispatch a Courier to him, he promised that he should bring all manner of satisfaction to his Majesty: Monsieur du Vair told him, that the Kings Orders must be obeyed, thereupon he went on that very day to Nancy, where he sojourned a great while, continuing his former Practices that he had began in France.

Information had been given by the *Syri's*, that the *Sieur de Bournonville*, Brother to the *Baron de Persan* Governour of the *Bastile*, had delivered certain dispatches to a man that went often and privately, from *Paris* to *Blois*; who was afterwards discovered and taken, being charged with Letters and Memorials written by *Monsieur Barbin*, then Prisoner in the *Bastile*, to the Queen Mother, describing the measures that she ought to take to regain her Authority with the King and to destroy those that had obtained a share in his Counsels, and that might be able to oppose this design. This was the cause that the Officer of the Guard was commanded to go into the *Bastile*, under pretence to speak with another Prisoner, where on a sudden according to the Orders that he had received in Writing, he caused the Door of the *Sieur Barbin's* Chamber to be opened, that he might enter and seize on his Papers, and found him with other Memorials on the same Subject, as the former but much larger: As soon as he perceived that the Officer took them away, he cryed out, *Alas! I am*
undone,

undone, he that hath been my only support, will see in these Papers what pains I have taken to destroy him, but it was to serve my Mistress. These Writings being examined in the Council, it appeared that *Bourmonville* had suffered himself to be corrupted, that he took care of the Letters that the *Sieur Barbin* sent out of the *Bastile*, and received those that were directed to him : It was also inferred from thence, that the *Baron de Persan* and his Family were engaged in the Service of the Queen Mother, however the King was satisfied with taking from him the Government of the *Bastile*; But as for *Bourmonville* against whom there were undoubted Proofs, he thought fit to order him to be committed into the hand of justice to be brought to his Tryal before the Grand Council, that his Majesty had appointed to this end, as also to try the others that were discovered to be of the same Faction, as well by the Papers of the *Sieur Barbin*, as by the dispatches of the Agent of Florence above-mentioned, viz. The *Sieur de Marsillac*, Le See formerly Secretary to the Queen, the two Brothers.

thers named *Syti*, and *Durand* a *Parisian*, whom *Monsieur de Luines* had introduced into the Kings Presence, to compose the Verses of the Balls, by whose appointment he received two thousand *Livers* as a reward.

According to the decree made by the Grand Council, *Marsillac* and *Le See* on whose behalf *Madam de Luines* very much interceded, were acquitted; the *Sieur Barbin* was condemned to perpetual banishment out of the Kingdom; the Younger *Syti* received Sentence to be Hanged, and his Elder Brother, and *Durand* to make public reparation, and afterwards to be broken alive on a Wheel; These two last had each of them an infamous Libel about them, written with their own hands against his Majesties Sacred Person, in which *Durand* omitted nothing that might serve to represent him as the most cruel and abominable Prince that ever lived; the Elder *Syti* finding it too harsh, had mollified it a little, however he was thought worthy of the punishment to which he was adjudged: but they had not time to Publish this Scandalous Pamphlet. Amongst *Du-*
rands

rands Papers were found Letters that assured him of the Office of Secretary to the Queen Mother, who was highly extolled therein; nevertheless it was believed that she had not read them, and that she never would have consented, that they should after so base a manner, sully the Honour of the King her Son, whom all Men acknowledged as one of the most pious, most just and most Excellent Princes that ever wore a Crown.

As for what relates to the Duke of *Florence*, a shew was made of an intention to invade his Country, and he began to be afraid of a Storm, when he heard that Orders were sent to *Monsieur de Lesdiguiers*, to be ready to command an Army of twenty thousand men in *Italy*, that vast sums of money were provided to set out a considerable number of Ships at *Marseilles*, and that *Monsieur de Guise* was already departed to go on Board as Admiral, and to Act according to his Majesties Orders: Insomuch that to allay this Tempest, he dispatched the *Chevalier Guidy* with great diligence to the King, to excuse himself on the account of
what

what had passed to the prejudice of the Merchants of *Provence*, of which he protested that he was altogether ignorant, till he had received an information thereof in a Letter from his Agent, laying the fault on certain Officers, whom he had for that reason caused to be put in Prison : The *Chevalier Guidy* brought the Merchants along with him to testifie to his Majesty, that not only the Vessels and Merchandizes were restored to them, but that they were also satisfied in full for all charges, damages and interests, and that they were paid for the expences of their journey to the Court : The Fleet that was prepared by *Monsieur de Guise*, served to clear the Coasts of *Provence* of the Pirates of *Algier*, that intercepted their commerce ; and indeed this was the true reason that such a fund was appropriated for their maintenance.

The Incendiaries of the Court having, as hath been already observed, exasperated the mind of the Queen with two different passions distrust and anger, made use of the Proceedings above-related, to cause an absolute inflammation therein ; And she so easily received

received these ill impressions, that she suffered the Intelligences and Plots that were already promoted in the Kingdom under her name, daily to encrease, and intended to take a resolution to withdraw her self privately from *Blois*, and to raise a Party in the Nation by the Power of which she was perswaded, to hope to be re-established at Court, with all the Authority in which she had been heretofore invested.

The King being informed of these artifices, took all possible care to prevent the effect, and to give a true account of his intentions to the Queen his Mother, which were certainly so full of sincerity, and so well known to those, whom he employed in these important and most secret Affairs, that none durst make the least motion to him, that never so little reflected on the honour and respect that he required should be render'd to her, or that tended in any manner whatsoever to interrupt the good correspondence, that he desired to preserve with her Majesty; It is also true that none of them at that time were inclined to the contrary, at last the King seeing that all
his

his endeavours proved ineffectual, sent *Monsieur de Roissy*, an Ancient Counsellor of State, to reside with her, for these two ends, one of which was to use his utmost efforts to disperse those mists of suspicion that were cast before her Eyes, and to dis-intangle her from those perplexities, in which she had involved herself by hearkning to those evil counsels, that were continually proposed to her ; and the other was, to have a watchful eye over the actions of those that came near her Person, to suggest them to her ; His Majesty also commanded certain Troops of Horse to be put into a Garrison near *Blois*, to keep those in awe that should attempt to remove the Queen from thence.

These Orders, and in a Word, all the Kings Actions relating to the Queen his Mother, even those that turned to her greatest advantage and were apparently most innocent, were nevertheless converted by the factious, into so many fire-brands to inflame her anger : But for as much as they saw that their Plots were discovered, as soon as they were contrived, and that
all

all the projects that they could invent, were always frustrated with prudente and great Moderation, they imagined that this proceeded chiefly from the vigilancy, industry and care of *Monsieur Deageant*, and took a resolution amongst themselves to set all their Engines at Work, either to remove or to destroy him. There were two Parties, that for some time, were engaged in the like enterprizes; one of which consisted of several Persons who being intimate with *Monsieur de Luines*, were perswaded that if they could induce him to discredit and expel *Deageant*, they might afterwards rule him as they pleased, and might thereby insinuate themselves into the Kings favour even to the detriment of *Monsieur de Luines*: The other was managed by the Duke de Monteleon, the Spanish Ambassador, who had his Emislaries at Court, some of whom were in so great repute with *Monsieur de Luines*, by the means of divers secret Springs, that although by the Letters dispatched from Spain to the Duke de Monteleon, that were intercepted, and by large Memorials that were sent to him, the whole intrigue

was

was laid open to *Monsieur de Luines*, nevertheless he suffer'd himself to be deluded by it. These Memorials were composed after so curious and artificial a manner that *Monsieur Deageant*, who knew the disposition of *Monsieur de Luines*, that was already inspired with jealousy by reason of the great trust and confidence that the King had put in him, easily judged what would be the event. He acquainted him with his thoughts thereupon, and freely protested to him that he was about to consider in good earnest how he might retreat, as he afterwards did, assuring him, that if he desired to remove him, he would not oppose it, provided that he took care that his Conscience and Honour might not be interessed therein. He performed his promise to him in this particular; for about three Months after, *Monsieur de Luines* having told him, that the Ancient Ministers of State; and all the cheif of his Family, Kindred and Acquaintance had conceived an extream aversion and displeasure against him, and that they threatned to abandon him, if he did not depart from his interest; advised

vised him to forbear coming into the Privy Council, and that of the dispatches only for fifteen days ; in which he would use his endeavours to take away these jealousies, earnestly entreating him in the mean time not to declare it to the King, because he was unwilling that it should come to his Ear, lest his Majesty should be provoked against the Ministers and this might cause a Division in the Council. This Artifice was too gross not be perceived, and it was apparent enough that the design was, whilst he abstained from public Employments, to slander and accuse him falsely before the King : Nothing was left undone to procure this effect ; but his Majesties generosity was so great, that he could not be prevailed with to discard a Servant against whom he found nothing alledged, but what proceeded from envy or malice, and one that could not be charged with any Mis-demeanour. However *Monsieur Deageant*, who observed on the one side that he was too weak to withstand the shock of so many, and such powerful Enemies that opposed him, and on the other, that *Monsieur*
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de Luines had by degrees declined to hearken to his Advice, to follow that which was suggested to him according to the different Passions of those that constantly beset him, for the most part to the damage of the State, judged rightly, that if he should continue in the Execution of his Office, he would be accounted responsible for all miscarriages that might happen, though he had no hand in them, these considerations obliged him not only to yield to the proportions of *Monsieur de Luines*, but also to assure him that he intended for the future altogether to desist from the transaction of any Affairs of State, having nevertheless represented to him divers weighty reasons to convince him that (as he had formerly told him) he had suffer'd himself to be surprized by those that were his own Enemies, disturbers of the Peace of the Kingdom, and disaffected to his Majesties Service, who might perhaps at some other time require of him an account of several important negotiations that he had almost brought to perfection, and would be lost through his retreat; some of which shall be hereafter related in their proper place.

At that very instant *Monsieur Deageant*, forbore to appear in Council and to transact any Affairs, and had also withdrawn himself from Court; but *Monsieur de Luines*, who had concealed this Plot from the King, caused him to believe that he had voluntarily absented himself by reason of the jealousy of the Ministers, till he could find out some means to compose the differences that arose amongst them: And therefore fearing if *Deageant* should altogether quit his Employment, lest his Majesty should discover his design and might take notice thereof, he desired him to remain at Court, and to see him at the usual hours: He treated him after this manner, that the King might believe that he was always present, and had a hand in all public transactions, whilst he endeavoured to perswade him to give his consent that he might be removed.

The King by his prudent and generous conduct had extended his reputation very far, he was loved by good Men, and feared by evil; his thoughts and actions were wholly bent to propagate Religion, to cause justice to
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Reign, to repair the Ruins of the State, to Establish Peace therein and to impart it to those Neighbours that were in trouble : But the Devil, the Enemy of good Works, perceiving that these proceedings tended to the destruction of his Kingdom in *Europe*, to put a stop to this Course, stirred up the above-mentioned factions and conspiracies, that after divers manners changed the Scene of Affairs, and which is worse, caused several attempts to be made upon his Majesties Sacred Person; he instilled into the mind of a Young Man a Native of *Cahors* whose name was concealed, because he was descended from an Honourable Family that was well-affected to the King's Service,) most wicked and damnable designs, to Execute which, he came to *Paris*, and was thus discovered : On Easter day in the Morning in the Year 1618. This Young Man went into the Convent of the *Cordeliers*, and enquired whether there were amongst them any Fathers of the Province of *Guienne*, thereupon one was shewed to him in the infirmary, named *Arnoux*; he accosted him, and after some discourse,

course, desired him to hear him in Confession, in which he accused himself, saying, *that he had some thoughts that he should be well pleased if the King, Queen and Monsieur the Kings Brother were dead, and that he had a mind, if it seemed good to him, to kill them and three other Princes.* These were the very Words that the Cordelier caused him to repeat to him upon the spot, telling him that before he gave him absolution, he would consider them well, and would talk with him in particular about them, which he did at first in the Cloister, and afterwards in his Chamber where he brought him, and there having fully examined him concerning this Diabolical Imagination, he found that he was a Person capable of committing all manner of wickedness, and that instead of shewing any contrition for so abominable a thought, he seemed always obstinately to persist therein. This good Friar fearing least some mischief might ensue, if it were not prevented, entreated him to tarry a little in the Chamber, whilst he went into the Library to turn over certain Casuists, in order to resolve his

Doubts on the Subject of his Confession: He took this opportunity to acquaint *Monsieur Deageant* with what had happened, relating to him (as he said) not that which had been spoken in Confession, because that was forbidden, but several passages that he had heard from the Mouth of this Young Man in other discourses with him: *Monsieur Deageant* after he had commended his zeal, desired him to go and entertain him, and to invite him to dinner in his own Chamber, or if he refused it, to accompany him to his Lodgings, till an Officer were sent to apprehend him. The Ministers of State were immediately assembled, and according to their Advice this Young Man was put into the *Bastile*, and in a Chest that was in the Chamber where he lay, his Confession was found containing these wicked thoughts, with several other horrible abominations, which being viewed by the *Privy Counsellors*, they considered that forasmuch as there was no other Proof against him but his own Confession, and the report of the Confessor, they ought on several accounts to act circumspectly

cumspectly in such Cases, and fearing on the other side least the King should be troubled, and it should be made known to the World that any had conspired against his life, they thought it convenient to keep him a close Prisoner, and that no rumour should be spread abroad touching this matter. They to whose custody he was committed, and that observed his behaviour, reported that he would often talk like a mad man, and one that was desperately intent upon some mischief. *Monsieur Deageant*, being soon after discharged from the managing of Public Affairs, this as well as many others, was neglected; insomuch that the Ministers without recollecting (as is to be supposed) the cause of his confinement, and without enquiring into it, ordered him to be set at liberty, as also were some others that were imprisoned in the same place on slight occasions. They repented it afterwards, being informed who he was, and would have caused him to be taken again, but to no purpose. On the third day in *Easter*, the *Cordelier* that had discovered him, was (as is thought) Poysoned in the Con-
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vent, the Physicians with whose Advice he was carefully assisted, observed all the signs of a subtil Poyson, that would soon have dispatched him, if he had not been of a very strong constitution, and had not found such speedy and effectual relief : As soon as he was cured, he was sent back again into his *Convent*, and during the Siege of *Montauban*, he served as an *Almoner*, where he fell sick and dyed.

The Devil having failed in this attempt resolved 'ere long to try another. Amongst the Pages of the lesser Stables, there was one for whom the King had a more particular respect, and who upon this account attended on Horse-back almost always when his Majesty went a Hunting. The Master of the Horse having on a certain day, ordered him to mount according to the usual custom, he fell a weeping and entreated him that he would be pleased to excuse him, affirming that ever since the last time that they Hunted, he was troubled with somewhat that incessantly urged him to kill the King, that the more he strove to resist this temptation, the more he was tormented with
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it, without being able to sleep, or to enjoy any peace in his mind; and that he had had recourse to Prayer, Confession and the Sacrament, but could not get rid of a thought, that he detested as much as Hell it self: He fell on his knees at his feet, beseeching him to take care of him, and not to permit him to come near the King, least the evil Spirit should compel him to commit the execrable Fact to which he was prompted against his Will: The Master of the Horse caused him to be examined by two learned Divines, and a Physitian to discover whether this perturbation might not proceed from Melancholy; they avouched the contrary, and that the Page appeared to be of a good natural constitution, devout and sound in body and mind, his imagination only excepted, that was hurt by the malignant suggestion of the Devil with whom he seemed to be possessed; he afterwards came and made a report thereof to a private Assembly of the Ministers of State, who were of opinion that no mention ought to be made of this Affair, for the same reasons that have been produced in the

Preceding Paragraph, and that the Page should be committed to the custody of some Person appointed to conduct him to the Citadel of *Calais*, where the Governour was to be commanded to entertain him, and not to permit him to depart till he had received further orders; this was put in execution, and I know not what became of him since, because I had retired from the Court.

About the same time a certain *French* Man, that had lived in *Spain* about fourteen Years came from *Portugal* to the Court, and made application to *Monsieur de Luxemburg* lately Deceased, the Brother of *Monsieur de Luines*, whom he acquainted that he came on purpose to give information of a matter that he thought was of great consequence in relation to the Kings Person; affirming, that being very intimate with the Governour of a Sea-port Town, the name of which I do not remember, this Man believing him to be a *Spaniard*, had often shewed him an *Indian* Youth that had a Steel Cross-bow, so little that it might be put into his Pocket, which he could draw so dextrously, that

that he never failed to shoot twenty or twenty five shot within the compass of a penny, with a sharp Arrow that entered with great force, and very far into the board that was set up as a mark, and that he was employed at other times in learning Languages, and more especially the *French* above all others, without permitting him to go out of the Fortress, nor so much as out of the Tower, where six Souldiers were appointed for his Guard: This giving him an occasion to suspect that there was some sinister design in agitation against his Country, excited in him a desire to penetrate into it as far as he could; insomuch that being on a certain day in the *Indians* Chamber with the Governours Secretary (who as his Master had done, took him to be a native of *Spain*) and having asked him what they intended to do with this Foreigner that was kept there so long; he replied, that it was better to maintain one desperate and resolute Traytor than a great Army, that such a one usually did more execution, and did not cost so much; and that he could not be ignorant, that this was a Maxim of the *Spanish Politicks*. Therefore from this

and from other passages that he observed elsewhere, he concluded it to be an undoubted truth, that the *Indian* was thus exercised and guarded, that he might be hereafter employed to perpetrate some villanous enterprize in *France*: He earnestly insisted that this matter should not be communicated to the Kings Council, only to some of them in private, whose fidelity and capacity was well known, and that if some one were chosen that might be trusted, and that could speak the *Spanish* Tongue fluently, he could prevail so far as to cause him to be admitted into the Garrison of the *Fortress*, and perhaps into the Guard of the *Indian's* Tower, where he might see the truth of that which he had related, and that they might advise together concerning the measures that were to be taken to destroy this Man; in case they could perceive that any progress had been made in the design, for which he judged that he was entertained after this manner; thereupon such a Person was provided as he required, who was furnished with a peculiar Cypher or Character to write down the particulars that he should observe concerning these occurrences;

rences; he sent divers Letters that confirmed all that the other had reported, and urged with much importunity that this *Indian* ought to be dispatched, and that it might be easily effected with a little Money, by the means of some of those that belonged to his Guard; this was not long after actually put in execution: A Gentleman that faithfully served the King in *Spain*, was charged to observe these transactions, and gave an account that the two Men that were sent thither, had punctually performed their promise: I can certainly avouch the truth of this Affair, since the sums of Money that were paid to keep it secret were taken out of my Chest, a considerable part of which is yet due to me, because I was dismissed from the managing of public Negotiations, during the time that this was in agitation.

Before I proceed to discourse of those passages that came to my knowledge, after I was thus discharged from my Employment, I thought it not amiss succinctly to relate some particulars touching Foreign Affairs, a true account of which perhaps hath not been exhibited elsewhere: It is certain that
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when the King took the Reins of the Government of his Kingdom into his own hands, the Court of *Rome* inclined more to the side of *Spain*, than to that of *France*; Cardinal *Bourguere* the Popes Nephew privately encouraged this party against ours, and to engage himself therein, concluded with the *Spanish* Ambassador the Marriage of the Prince *de Sulmone* which hath been since consummated. *Monsieur Deageant* perceiving that they to whom the administration of the transactions abroad, was committed, did not Advise the King to get an interest at this Court, that was always able to cause notable revolutions in the Affairs of *Christendom*, entreated his Majesty to permit him to endeavour to accomplish a design that he had contrived for this purpose: He was so fortunate as to obtain a considerable esteem with the Pope and the Cardinal his Nephew; and Cardinal *Bentivoglio*, being then in *France*, wrought good impressions upon them by his dispatches; which procured him great Credit, and very much facilitated his enterprize, he was also favoured with the great reputation that the King daily acquir'd, and by the

the refusal of the *Spaniards* to restore *Verfeil*, contrary to the re-iterated promises that they had made, by the Treaties that were concluded through the Mediation of the Pope and his Majesty, from whence the Court of *Rome* inferred, that the *Spaniards* designed to enlarge their Dominions in *Italy*, to the damage of the other Potentates, and particularly of his Holiness. Thereupon a Treaty of Alliance was promoted between the House of *Bourguere* and that of *France*, and to make it more firm and durable a match was propounded between the Duke of *Salmone* and *Mademoiselle de Verneuil*, who was afterwards Married to the Duke de *la Valette*. This overture being made to Cardinal *Bourguere*; and several reasons and advantages represented that were proper to perswade him; he declared that he did not dislike the Proposition, that he would communicate it to his Holiness, and that he would in the mean time hold the Marriage in suspense that was Prosecuted by the Ambassador of *Spain*; between the Prince de *Salmone*, and the party whom he hath since taken to Wife: But that he was obliged to say that *France* would not reap the Fruits that

that they expected from this Treaty; though it should succeed, unless the consent of Cardinal *Aldobrandini* could be obtained, whose power equalled, if not surpassed, that of the House of *Bourguere*; that he would not fail to joyn with *Spain*, as soon as he should see this union proposed; that the number of the Cardinals of his Faction, being augmented with those that were the Subjects of *Spain*, would always prevail in the Conclave and in the Consistory; and therefore that they would be continually opposed and overpowered, notwithstanding all that might happen to the advantage of *France*, whereas if the King could unite these two Powers, nothing could hinder him for the future, from obtaining all manner of Credit and Power in the Court of *Rome*, even to that degree, that when the Pope should dye, he might cause one to be chosen of the *French* Nation. A promise was made to him, to make an attempt upon the hopes of good success; and he was assured, that it should be his own fault, if his party were not strengthened with his Majesties Authority against that of *Spain* and the Family of *Aldobrandini* that was almost extinct.

A Marriage was then treated be-
tween

tween Monsieur the Prince of *Piedmont* and Madam the Kings Sister; Monsieur *Deageant* was one of those whom his Majesty thought fit to employ more particularly therein, who took this opportunity to perswade the Duke of *Savoy* to endeavour to engage Cardinal *Aldobrandini* in the *French* Interests, without declaring to him any thing that had passed between him and Cardinal *Bourguere*; he was further urged with the hopes that by effecting this, he might cause himself to be elected King of the *Romans*, and from thence might be advanced to the Empire. *James I.* late King of *Great Britain* instead of inciting the Prince *Palatine* his Son-in-Law, dissuaded him from it, and was of opinion that the Duke of *Savoy* ought rather to be regarded. One of the *English* Ministers of State imparted this to Monsieur *Deageant*, that he might inform the King thereof, and might induce him to prosecute this Design, as being the best and most sure means to pull down the House of *Austria*, to establish Peace amongst the Estates of *Europe*, and to prevent the Commotions that were ready to break forth in *Germany*.

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This Proposition was approved by the Duke of *Savoy*, who wanted neither Courage nor Ambition: he therefore resolved to sollicite Cardinal *Al-dobrandini* on this account and promised much from the strict Amity and Friendship that was betwixt them, but he feared least he should meet with some difficulty therein, because this Cardinal, as to his present Condition at *Rome*, was able to hold the Ballance even in the Conclave and in the Consistory; but that he might be over-matched by the Faction of *Bourguere*; that would be fortified with the *Spaniards* as soon as they should see him inclined to *France*; which was the same consideration that had restrained *Bourguere* with respect to *Al-dobrandini*, as hath been already observed. A promise was thereupon made to the said Duke that all possible Efforts should be used to gain Cardinal *Bourguere*.

It hath been above related that *M. Deageant* contrived an Enterprize against *Rochel* with an Officer that had the charge of the Fortifications of that City; this Man had given Information to the Inhabitants, that for the security

curity of the Place it was necessary to raise a Bulwark on that side next the Harbour, and having received orders to take care that a good quantity of Earth should be carried thither, for that purpose, left a space open through which seven Men might enter in front, this gap was filled up at Night with a few Turfs that might be easily trampled upon and overturned; but that he might gain time to prepare all things requisite for the Execution of this Design, he prolonged the finishing of this Work. Another Inhabitant of *Rochel* that guarded the Tower of the Lantern on the same side, treated in like manner with Monsieur *Deageant* at the same time, to open a passage into the City, which he had cut through the Stones and afterwards filled with Earth, and was so wide that two Men might march therein in front: The other Officer and he, without knowing one another Intentions insisted, that the King having put a strong Garrison into Fort *Lewes*, that was near the City, might re-enforce it as occasion required, and might without any difficulty at the return of the tide, cause a detachment of a considerable

considerable number of Soldiers that might be sufficient to perform this Enterprize, to advance by the way that they should shew, without being perceived by the Sentinels. Monsieur *Deageant* to be assured of this, sent an Engineer in whom he could confide, that at two several Nights entered through the above mentioned Passages, and reported that the project was infallible, and not long after acquainted the King and Monsieur *de Luines* with it: Thereupon a debate arose in the Privy Council, whether in case an opportunity should be offered to surprise *Rochel*, the King should lay hold on it, and it was carried in the affirmative, though at that time there was a full Peace, since the *Rockellers* as to their particular were continually Factious and in Rebellion. There were none then privy to the Design, but the King, Monsieur *de Luines*, the two Undertakers, the Workman that was sent to view the Places, and Monsieur *Deageant*: but afterwards Monsieur *de Luines* perswaded the Person that managed the Affair at the Tower of the Lantern to introduce Monsieur *de Auriac* Quarter-Master of the Army lately deceased.

ceased, to see whether it could be effected, forbidding him to make any mention thereof to Monsieur *Deageant*: Monsieur *de Auriac* declared, that he had seen every thing after the same manner as was represented, but that so many Soldiers as would be requisite to take the City, could not pass through that Tower, unless the other Attempt were vigorously prosecuted at the same time; this difficulty arose by reason of the absence of the other Officer, who was in *Rochel* and had treated with none but Monsieur *Deageant*, without whom Monsieur *de Luines* intended that these Enterprizes should be performed, that the Honour of them might be attributed to him; he feared also if any success should happen upon the Negotiation of Monsieur *Deageant*, lest he should obtain further Credit and Favour with the King. Thus all proceedings in this Matter being delayed, no other Effect was produced but the Death of him that acted at the Tower by the Lantern, who being sent into the City of Monsieur *de Luines* to endeavour to induce the Officer to treat with none but him, and to desist from conferring any longer

longer with Monsieur *Deageant*, was discovered, upon the advice that a certain noble Man to whom Monsieur *de Luines* had revealed this Design, had given to the Mayor; insomuch that he was Condemned and Executed; Upon this account the Officer fled, and having related all these Circumstances to Monsieur *Deageant*, departed to *Rome*, not thinking himself safe in *France*. The Jealousy of Monsieur *de Luines*, and the removing of Monsieur *Deageant* were the only Obstacles that hindered the King from becoming absolute Master of *Rochel* at that time.

During the Employment of Monsieur *Deageant*, no other Affairs of consequence were transacted in *Italy*, but that of the Duke of *Florence* above mentioned; the Marriage of the Prince of *Piedmont*; the difference between the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantua*, of which the King was Arbitrator, and the Accommodation between the King of *Spain* and the Duke of *Savoy*; And it would be needless for me to enlarge on them, since there are many that are able to produce larger Memorials than I can; as for the last, Father *Joseph* can give a true
account.

account thereof, since he was sent into *Spain* on purpose to cause the Treaty to be put in Execution, that was made for the restitution of *Verseil*.

I shall only add one particular passage that happened to my Knowledge, which perhaps may be thought worth the observing, Cardinal *Ludovisi*, who was afterwards promoted to the Pontificate, negotiated for the Pope in the aforesaid Accommodation, and Monsieur de *Lesdiguiers* was one of those whom the King had employed therein: The Treaty being concluded, Monsieur de *Lesdiguiers* went to take leave of the Cardinal, and amongst other Complements, wished him the the Mitre; he smiled and made him this answer, *Will you promise me to become a Catholic when I shall be Pope?* Yes certainly, replied Monsieur de *Lesdiguiers*, who seeing him very Ancient, and the last of the Cardinals could not imagine that he could attain to this Supreme Dignity; however in a little time he was placed in *St. Peters* Chair, and long after dispatched a Brief to Monsieur de *Lesdiguiers* to put him in mind of his promise, to perform which he was already inclined,

clined, as shall be hereafter observed; he sent an answer to this Brief, full of respect, and even made use of the terms of *most Holy Father* and *his Holiness*, notwithstanding the Remonstrances that the Deputies of the Reformed Religion, and the Consistory of *Lyons* from whence he wrote, exhibited to him on this occasion.

There were also certain Treaties in agitation concerning the Affairs of the *Valtoline*, which were disannulled by the *Venetians* at the very first overture, but because I knew not the succeeding Events I shall make no mention of them here; And as for *Spain*, excepting the Transactions that related to the composing of the differences between them and the Duke of *Savoy*, there was no other matter of moment depending between the two Crowns, and Peace hath been maintained in despite of the mutual Antipathies of of these two Nations one against another, and the different Interests of their Kings.

There arose about that time a certain contest with *England*; the Ambassador of *France* was come back and left *le Cler* his Secretary to act in his
 stead,

stead, who proceeded so far, that a resolution was taken to treat him somewhat severely, he thereupon withdrew himself, and having sent an express to the King of what passed; he received a Command to find out some means to return, which he afterwards did; there was also an Ambassador from *England* with the King, who upon notice that the other of *France* was in the Kingdom, gave orders that he should speedily depart, since, contrary to the Law of Nations, his Master had abused his. The Duke of *Savoy* who kept a good Correspondence in *England*, and treated there about the Marriage of his Son, hoping that these two Kings being united together, would assist him much in obtaining the Crown, that had been propounded to him, interposed, and took much pains to reconcile them, since their differences were produced on a very slight occasion.

The principal difficulty consisted in this Point, which of them should first send his Ambassador. The King alleged that since there was no composition between the two Crowns touching precedency, the *English* having always

always yielded it to the *French*, and the King of *England* having obliged his Majesty to recal his Agent, it belonged to him to send his Ambassador first into *France*: The King of *England* did not dispute about the matter of Composition, but pretended that he had not treated the Agent of *France* after so rude a manner, that he ought to have withdrawn himself; that he was highly offended that his was sent back without any lawful Cause, and that this offence could not be redressed but by sending a *French* Ambassador to excuse it after the arrival of whom he would cause his to depart. At last it was agreed that the two Kings should nominate their respective Ambassadors, that the *English* should first pass over the Sea, and that as soon as he had given notice of his Arrival in *France*, the King should order his to set forward; the first being very active, made so great haste, that as soon as he landed in *France*, he travelled to the Court, and remained there some time before the later began his Journey.

An amicable Correspondence hath been since maintained between the two Crowns. The King of *England* upon the recommendation of our King did often mitigate and abate the ordinary rigorous proceedings against the *Roman* Catholicks in that Country: He was also very well pleased with the Propositions that were privately offer'd to him on behalf of his Majesty, tending to re-unite him to the bosom of the Church: insomuch, that after some reiterated Conferences that were managed to that effect in the King's Presence, without communicating any thing thereof in his Council, lest the effect being made known, should be obstructed or prevented, the Archbishop of *Embrun* made a Voyage into *England*, as it were without any design, in the habit, and under the name of a Counsellor in the Parliament of *Grenoble*, whom curiosity had induced to see *England*: he had no sooner set his foot on Land at *Dover*, but the Duke of *Buckingham* came to meet him, and having saluted him, whispered him thus in the Ear; Sir, *You that call your self a Counsellor of Grenoble, being the*

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1 *Arch-Bishop of Embrun, are very wel-*
come into these Dominions: you need not
 . . . *change your Name, nor conceal your Qua-*
lity; for you shall receive nothing but
Honour here, and especially from the
King my Master, who hath a very par-
ticular esteem for you. Indeed, the King
of England treated him very honoura-
bly, granted him several Favours in
behalf of the Catholicks, and even
permitted him to administer the Sa-
crament of Confirmation to them in
the House of the Ambassadour of
France, where there was a great Court,
the doors being open. There were
near eighteen thousand persons that
received this Sacrament, without ha-
ving any thing said to them, in the
Entry, at the Door, or elsewhere; al-
though there was a great concourse of
the English people in the street, that
saw this Ceremony performed. Dur-
ing the time that he resided there, he
had several Conferences with the
King; who being satisfied as to all the
points in Controversie, wrote a large
Letter to the Pope, by a Catholick
Gentleman his Subject, whom he privily
sent to him on purpose, in which he
 acknow-

acknowledged him as the Vicar General of *Jesus Christ* on Earth, as the Universal Father of the Christians, and the chief of all Catholicks, assuring him, that after he had taken care of those things to which he had agreed, he would openly declare himself; in the mean time he promised not to suffer any search to be made in his Kingdom after Priests that were sent by his Holiness or the most Christian King, provided they were not *Jesuits*, in whom he protested that he could not confide for divers Reasons; principally because he accounted them as the Authors of the Gunpowder Treason, by which they had designed to blow him up as he sat in the Parliament-House: In his Letter amongst other things, he entreated the Pope to vouchsafe that the Goods of the Church that were entred into the Patrimony of the principal Families of *England* should not be taken from them; but on the contrary, that they should be permitted to possess them, because otherwise great troubles and commotions would ensue; he affirm'd moreover, that nothing could detain

him from making a publick Profession of the Catholick Religion immediately, but the desire he had to gain the King of *Denmark* his Brother-in-law, whom he had to that end, but under another pretence, solicited to come over into *England*, where he hoped to convert him: that by doing this he should be able to establish peace in his Dominions, which otherwise could hardly be maintained; and that they two being joined together in the same design, would draw after them almost all the *Northern* Countries: The Duke of *Buckingham* and the Gentleman whom he sent to *Rome*, were the only persons that were his Subjects to whom he discoursed these Intentions: The Duke had promised to follow him, and indeed made a considerable progress therein; but the Death of King *James* that happened during this Negotiation prevented the effect, at which his Holiness and the King were very much troubled.

The King of *Great Britain* always shewed a great aversion to the design of the Prince *Palatine* his Son-in-law, and an extream desire to cause the Duke

Duke of *Savoy* to be made King of the *Romans*; he solicited *M. Deageant* during his Employment at Court to endeavour to incite the King to this, and to persuade him to make use of his Interest with the Electoral Princes that were his Friends, as he intended to do with those that were his, promising also to raise Forces to assist him in his Election and Enstalmment.

The Affairs of the *Low Countries* remained in their ordinary course: It is true indeed, that the *Spaniards* in *Flanders* had determined to renew an old Quarrel by digging a certain Channel over *Calais*, in those Lands that were in dispute between the two Estates; but the King oppos'd it, declaring that he would hinder the work by force of Arms: some Conferences were holden on this account by the neighbouring Officers on both sides, but they took no effect; however the *Spaniards* desisted from their Undertaking. The King of *Sweden* obtained leave of the King to levy certain *French* Troops for his Service, that were employed in the War, in which he was then engaged.

The Duke of *Lorrain*, who was as yet only Prince of *Vaudemont*, resided some time at Court, where he received all manner of demonstrations of the King's Favour and good Will, who defended him in a Quarrel that arose between him and the Count of *Soissons*, and took a particular care of all his Affairs ; insomuch that when he proposed to marry the Heiress of *Lorrain*, His Majesty afforded him his assistance, tho some were of a contrary Opinion : indeed no Opportunity was offered wherein he could oblige him, but he did it affectionately, being very much inclined to love him. However, Divine Justice hath permitted him to be punished for his unparallel'd ingratitude to the King almost as soon as he had arrived to the highest pitch of his power : The D. of *Vaudemont* his Father, who never was well affected to *France*, very early implanted the seeds of those pernicious Principles in his mind, that have since produced such bitter fruits in his Family, and have at last been the cause of its ruin.

As for the Affairs of *Germany*, when the King took on himself the Administration.

stration of the Government of his Kingdom, they were sufficiently embroiled; the two Parties, the Catholic and the Protestant, had already harassed one another in several places; the Duke of *Bavaria* hoped to attain to the Empire, being animated by the Counsel of the *Jesuits*, who to that end had advised him to engage in his Interest the principal Officers that had served the Emperour, and were lately disbanded; as also to cause all necessary provisions to be made for the execution of this Design. The Prince *Palatine* on the other side, being excited by his own Ambition, and by the greatest part of the Protestants, and very much importuned by the Duke of *Bouillon*, suffered himself to be decoyed with the same project of aspiring to the Empire, and prosecuted it vigorously: Both Parties seeing *France* enjoying a profound Peace, and their King ready to mount on Horse-back, to turn the Scales to the side that he should think fit to favour, diligently sought to make an Alliance with him: The King's Council was divided thereupon; some thought it convenient that

he should promote the Enterprize of the Duke of *Bavaria*, nevertheless without declaring it openly: Others on the contrary, were of Opinion that he ought to remain Neuter, and with the Forces that he had in the Field to march towards *Metz*, that appearing formidable to both Parties, he might be ready to lay hold on all advantages that should be offered, which consisted amongst other things in counter-ballancing the House of *Austria*, that apparently designed to exalt it self to the detriment of all the Potentates of *Europe*; and in case matters should be disposed to a Peace, in endeavouring to become Arbitrator thereof.

Moreover, there happened another occasion that required the King's Presence at *Metz*, an Information had been given of the secret Correspondence between M. d'Espernon and the Queen-Mother, that was at last made manifest by her departure from *Elou*: It was known also that the Duke of *Bouillon* had promised to join with that Party, and that under colour of fortifying the Garrison of *Metz*, he intended to cause Soldiers to be admitted therein,

therein, to the end that in the midst of the Combustions that he saw were ready to break forth, with the assistance of them and some other Inhabitants that were at his Devotion, he might attempt to make himself Master of the place, to annex it to the Principality of *Sedan*; insomuch that the King to secure this City, and to rescue it from the power of those that were very industrious in strengthening themselves in their Conspiracies against him, was resolved to proceed to the execution of an infallible Enterprize, that had been projected at that time when *M. d'Espernon* began first to be suspected; in order to the performance of which, certain Troops were quartered near that City under another pretence. This Stratagem was then very privately managed, for the King and one of his Privy Counsellors were only privy to it, his Majesty not being willing to discover it even to *M. de Luines*; Because (said he) he knew not how to keep a Secret.

Amongst the Nobility that adhered to the Factions that were raised in the Kingdom under the name of the
G 5
Queen

Queen-Mother, endeavours were used to introduce the whole Body, or at least the principal Members of the Professors of the Reformed Religion, who were always very watchful to take advantages upon any dissention in the State. This was the cause that detained the King in *Paris* or the places adjacent, and prevented his Journey to *Metz*, fearing lest the Incendiaries should grow more numerous and potent in his absence

The Artifices of those that favored these Conspiracies, and others that made use of them to ruin *M. de Luines*, and to get into his place, prevailed so far over him as to persuade him to believe, that every thing that was told him concerning them, was frivolous and that there were no such Plots in Agitation: Insomuch, that ten days before the Queen-Mother went from *Blois*, *M. Deageant*, who (as hath been said) had no share in the transaction of Affairs, but remained as yet in *Paris*, according to the desire of *M. de Luines*, having brought to him an Information that he had received from a Gentleman of good Credit, concerning

cerning the design of this departure, and the manner how it was to be performed; he despised it, saying it was a Dream and a Chimera: However, *M. Deageant* failed not after four days were passed to give him a new Account, that came from another person of Quality his intimate Friend, and one that was very well affected to the King's Service, who had hearkened to the Enterprize, with an intent rather to be serviceable in revealing it, than to do any mischief: But *M. de Luines* treated him in this Rencounter, after the same manner as he had done in the preceeding, being possessed with an Opinion that had been wrought on his mind, that *Deageant* had invented this piece of News to procure some advantage to himself, and to endeavour by this means to recover his favour. *M. Deageant* had a just cause to be offended, if his affection to his Master's service, and to the particular welfare of *M. de Luines*, with whom he had lived in strict Amity, had not restrained him; but preferring his Duty before any other resentment, he insisted as much as possibly he could,

could, to persuade him to advise the King to prevent (as he might easily do) an action that would infallibly kindle a Civil War; but perceiving that he could not convince him of the Truth of this Relation, he urged him at least for his own Security to propound it to the Council that was to be assembled at that very hour, because otherwise the Counsellors themselves would be the first that should accuse him of Negligence, in case the Enterprize should take effect. He promised to do it, and at the breaking up of this Council that was holden at *Paris*, he told him that all the Ministers were imposed on in this matter, and that they ought not to be any longer amuzed thereby.

The Gentleman that had sent the second Advice, seeing that it was not regarded, and being credibly informed of the resolution that was taken for the departure of the Queen-Mother from the Castle of *Blois*, with the Retinue, Order, Manner and other particular Circumstances of the Action, rode Post himself, to give a certain account thereof, thinking that his Words would be more prevalent than his Letters : He arrived

arrived on the Thursday preceeding the above-mentioned Departure. *M. Deageant* brought him to *St. Germain*, whither the King was gone to divert himself for some Days with Walking, and presented him before *M. de Luines*, who would not so much as hear him, altho he offered to undergo any Punishment that should be inflicted on him, if he could not justify every Particular that he had averred.

The Truth soon appeared, for on the Saturday following, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, the *Sieur de Prè*, a Gentleman that belonged to the King, and had a House at *Blois*, brought the News that between Friday Night and Saturday Morning the Queen-Mother was removed after the same manner as had been described to *M. de Luines*, who was now very much perplexed, being sensible that this Device was principally contrived against him; and that the Ministers of State, and the most part of the other Persons that had dissuaded him from hearkening to this Advice, did not bear that cordial and sincere Affection to him as he imagined. It is also certain that
some

some desired to see the Queen invested with the full Authority that she had formerly enjoyed at Court, provided that they might rule under her Name, as they hoped to do; and that others earnestly expected some Change in hopes to advance their Fortune, there being very few that preferred the Kings Interest and the common Good of the State, before their own private Gain. Upon these Considerations *M. de Luines* began to acknowledg the Damage that had accrued to the King's Affairs, and to himself in particular, by being so easily induced to withdraw *M. Deageant* from the transacting of publick Negotiations, and took a Resolution on this occasion to re-establish him; but having discoursed with him touching his Intentions; he excused himself altogether, as he often did afterwards, when he caused him to be solicited by divers worthy Persons, some of whom are yet living: however he promised that he would never refuse to serve him in particular on any occasion, when it should lye in his power, as he did very advantageously even in the accommodation between

tween the King and the Queen his Mother.

On Sunday Morning the King returned to *Paris*, and caused his Council to be assembled to consult what was to be done in this Conjunction. It was resolved that forasmuch as this was the first considerable Enterprize that he had undertaken since he had taken upon himself the absolute Government of his Kingdom, to come off honourably and to strike a terrour into the Hearts of the Rebels, he ought to raise a great Army, and to appear himself at the Head thereof: That it was necessary to this end to levy about an hundred thousand Men, to be employed in securing the Provinces, and that the greatest part of the Army that was to be commanded by his Majesty in Person, should immediately go and besiege the Place where the Queen and her Abettors should be retired. Of all these Forces, only fifteen hundred Men under the Command of *M. du Maine* were allotted to preserve *Guienne*, tho that Province was most to be feared, by reason of the Correspondence that the Queen-Mother and
M. d'Es-

M. d'Effernon had therein at that time, more than in any other of the Kingdom.

The King would not declare his Opinion in this Council, but making a shew to all that were then present, that he approved their Advice, he resolved to examine this Affair privately and more exactly than he had done, and to find out better Expedients than those that had been esteemed as the most safe. His Majesty was very sensible that they that had made this Overture, had Intentions that were not conformable to his; for (as he afterwards expressed his Mind to one of his Counsellors) if he had consented to act according to this Determination, he would thereby have given time and means to a growing Party to advance, and to become so powerful that it would be an exceeding difficult matter to subdue them; in regard the full term of six Months would be expired before Provision could be made to begin to levy the Forces that were agreed upon, there being then no Cash in the Treasury, nor any way to raise such considerable Sums, but by issuing out
new

new Edicts that must be enrolled in the Sovereign Courts, which would be an Undertaking of no small consequence, and could not easily be performed: thus the whole Year would be passed before this vast Army could be in a condition to march into the Field, and the Summer being spent in making Levies, and the Winter drawing near, the King would be forced either to treat, or to disband part of his Troops, or at least to put them in Garrisons, and perhaps might be perplexed in taking other Measures, to furnish a new supply of Money to maintain them, or to prepare them for action against the next Spring. In the meantime, it is not to be imagined that the Ring-leaders of the Faction, whose Fingers already itched to venture on some Attempt, would remain idle, or would let slip so fair an opportunity to take all manner of Advantages. Upon these and several other Considerations that his Majesty often revolved in his Mind, on this occasion, he took a resolution at last to try another Method, *viz.* to endeavour speedily to procure an Accommodation with the Queen his Mother, by offering

offering to her reasonable Satisfaction,
 and such as might consist with the Safe-
 ty of the Kingdom; nevertheless,
 without neglecting the means, readily
 to put himself into such a state as to
 be able to maintain his Authority by
 force of Arms, in case necessity requi-
 red it; but he intended to do this after
 another manner altogether different
 from that which had been concluded
 in the Council: For instead of that
 great Army that he was advised to
 command in Person, he purposed to
 make use of *M. du Maine* Governour
 of *Guienne*, who at that time was ve-
 ry well affected to his Majesties Inte-
 rest, and had a great Antipathy against
 the Queen-Mother, from whom he had
 received an Injury, and against *M.
 d'Espernon*, that had molested him in
 his Government. The King had deter-
 mined to send him Commissions imme-
 diately to raise an Army of fifteen
 thousand Men upon his own Credit, ex-
 pecting till the necessary Sums of Mo-
 ney could be returned, with Orders to
 march near the Place where the princi-
 pal Forces of the Confederates should
 be posted, to the end that they might
 shut

shut them up so close that they might not be able to extend or disperse themselves further; and that by this Diligence those might be restrained that should attempt to join their Party. But because *M. d'Espernon* was the only Person, amongst the Nobility of the Kingdom, that had appeared in this Design, his Majesty resolved to take away from him the means of prosecuting it, by seizing on the Places of which he was Governour, and that might make any considerable Resistance.

Before the Departure of the Queen-Mother from *Blois*, the King upon the advice that he had received concerning the practises of the Duke of *Espernon*, had already secretly secured *Xaintes* and *Boulongne*; and had hearkened to a Proposal that some of the Inhabitants of *Metz* had made to him in order to the taking of the City, and to another that a private Person had offered to surprize the Citadel; both these Projects seemed to be infallible, therefore his Majesty had under a certain Pretence, commanded about three thou-

thousand five hundred Men to advance
 that Way, as hath been above-mentio-
 ned: and had taken a Resolution to
 go in Person at the head of his Troops
 to see these Enterprizes performed;
 but to prevent all Suspicion he designed
 to go with great expedition to the
 place where the Queen his Mother had
 retired, and to send his Messengers be-
 fore, to give the necessary Orders at
Paris: But instead of taking this Road,
 feigning to have received an Informa-
 tion at Night, that obliged him speedi-
 ly to repair to the Frontiers of *Cham-*
pagne, he would turn short and march
 directly to *Metz*; he considered that
 in taking possession of this City, and
 on the other side in causing *M. du Maine*
 to block up *Angoulesme*, that was the
 only Place that was secured for *M d'Es-*
pernon, and into which he foresaw that
 the Queen his Mother might be con-
 veyed; he would soon compel him to
 submit to his Clemency. Besides this,
 his Majesty judged that his appearing
 at *Metz* with an Army, would pro-
 cure him other Advantages amongst
 the *German* Princes, that all had an
 Eye upon him as being able to turn the
 Ballance

Ballance of their Affairs; as it hath been above observed.

The King having made these Preparations for his Journey, without waiting for Money to be raised by way of Edict, as had been proposed to him, took up certain Sums upon his own Credit at *Paris* to defray the most necessary and urgent Expences; and made a shew as if he intended to follow the Advice of his Counsellors, excepting in two Particulars; one was, That *M. du Maine* ought to be furnished with a greater Army than was agreed upon, in regard that he was to sustain the principal weight of the War; and the other, That he thought fit to appoint Commissioners to treat with the Queen. His Majesty sent *M. de Schomberg* to his Government of *la Marche*, with Orders to assemble his Tenants and Vassals, to endeavour to seize on *Luzarche* that was in the Possession of *M. d'Espernon*, and to take care to keep all that Province within the bounds of their Duty: on the other side, he pressed *M. du Maine* to hasten his Levies, to march with the Forces that he had already got together, and
to

to encamp before *Angoulême*, into which City, his Majesty was lately informed that the Queen his Mother and *M. d'Espèrnon* had retreated.

The Male-contents were not a little surprized to see all these Commands no sooner given but performed, and understood that the King managed his Affairs after another manner than they imagined, or at least otherwise than some that were near him had persuaded them to believe; insomuch that they were glad to hear of the Embassy that was prepared to be sent to the Queen-Mother tending to an Accommodation, and hoped that these things that they could not obtain by Force, would be in part granted in the Treaty, promising themselves much from the favour of some of the Ministers of State, and from the Weakness and Indiscretion of the others. But the King perceiving that his Service was not performed as it ought to be, not by reason of any connivance or default of the Cardinal of *Rochefoucault* and of *M. de Bethunes*, whom he had deputed as Commissioners, but through the Artifices of some of those that managed the Dispatches;

patches; cast his Eyes upon *M. de Be-
rulle*, chief of the Fathers of the Ora-
tory, whom he knew to be in good
repute with the Queen his Mother, as
also with *M. d'Espernon*, and employed
him secretly to treat with the Queen;
to this end his Majesty caused the Me-
morials that were prepared in the
Council to be brought to him, as it
were to be perused by the Commissio-
ners, and commanded *M. Deageant* to
draw up certain particular Instructi-
ons, by the means of which and of se-
veral other Dispatches, and after ma-
ny Messages too and fro, the accommo-
dation was at last agreed upon, through
the mediation of the said *Sieur de Be-
rulle*, who afterwards communicated
his Negotiation to the Commissioners.

During these Transactions there
were many Letters written on both
sides, and divers Actions happened, on
which I shall not insist, because they are
commonly known, and have been men-
tioned by several Writers: I shall only
add, that the King having declared to
M. de Luines the Project concerning
Metz that he had devised without him,
because (as his Majesty had said) he
could

could not keep a Secret, he acquainted a certain Person with it, who having discovered it to the Cardinal of *Guisse*, he speedily gave notice thereof to *M. de Valotte*, whom his Father had left to command in *Metz*; he immediately caused all the Inhabitants to be disarmed, the greatest part of whom were privy to the Design: However they had foreseen this Accident, and had provided a Magazine of Arms, that they kept in a private place; insomuch that notwithstanding their being disarmed, one of those that managed the Enterprize, came and told the King, that if it pleased his Majesty to cause it to be put in Execution, they had still sufficient means left by which they could infallibly make themselves Masters of the City; and the Person that undertook the Affair of the Citadel assured him also on his behalf, that it might be easily accomplished: but as the King was just ready to depart on his Journey, he was informed by a Courier sent on purpose, that the secret Magazine of Arms of the Inhabitants was discovered, that they were taken from them, and that the Garison

was

was re-enforc'd after such a manner, that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to cause this Design to take effect. It was known that the second disarming proceeded from the same original as the first, which obliged his Majesty, according to the advice of some of his particular Servants, principally to incline to an Accommodation, since it was apparent from the premises, that if he design'd to engage in war, he would not be so faithfully served therein as he expected.

But because M. *de Bernille* in his Negotiation, met with new difficulties every day, proceeding from the artifice of the Abbot of *Roucelay*, and some others that had obtained credit with the Queen, since the departure of his Eminency, the King took a resolution to recall him: the Jealousie of the Ministers of State had caused him to retire to *Avignon*, being enjoyned not to stir from thence without his Majesty's Order, who was not ignorant that they would use their utmost efforts to hinder his Re-establishment; therefore he thought

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fit to employ M. *Deageant* alone in the affair, whom he commanded to compose a Letter, which his Majesty sign'd, and added four or five lines with his own Hand; the Tenor of which was, That he acknowledg'd, that the Cardinal during his residence with the Queen his Mother had by his wholesome Admonitions and prudent Conduct, gained an Influence over her Mind, and had respectively served their Majesties, by frustrating all the Attempts that were made to encrease their differences, that he earnestly desired to see him with her again, to give her better Counsel than that which was continually suggested to her; and to that end he exhorted him by the Affection that he alwaies bore to the Wellfare of their Majesties and the State, to appear speedily before the Queen, and to endeavour to make her sensible of the great Inclination he had to honour her, and to give her all the satisfaction that she could reasonably expect; since he never had any Intention to the contrary. This Letter was deliver'd to M. *du Tremblay*, the Governor of the *Bastille*, with a passport

port importing a command to all, to permit him to pass freely, as also the Horse-men that were ordered to conduct him from *Provence* to Court, with a Prohibition, forbidding any to molest them, or so much as to enquire who they were.

Notwithstanding this Pass-port, M^r. d' *Alincourt*, who very well knew the temper of the Ministers, to some of whom he was allied, and doubting lest this Journey should be made without their advice, thought fit to stop his Eminency at *Lyons*, till he had received other express order from the King: But when he had shown him the very Letter that he had written to him, in which he saw his Majesty's Hand, he excused himself, and set his Eminency at liberty, insomuch that in a few days he arrived at *Angoulême*, where all manner of Artifices were practised, to cause him to be suspected by the Queen-Mother: But at last yielding to the sincerity of his Counsels and Actions, being also as-sar'd elsewhere by M^r. de *Bernille*, that she ought not to expect that the difference could be compos'd, unless she

re-established him in the same favour and credit to which she had formerly admitted him, and seeing herself in a condition to be compell'd e're long to submit to any Law that should be imposed on her, the Party to whom she had adhered, not being able to protect her, nor to rescue her from the Troubles, and unhappy Circumstances wherein they had involved her, she resolved to banish them from her Presence, and freely to entertain his Eminency, who delayed not to find out expedients to remove the difficulties that obstructed the Accommodation, which was at last concluded as hath been above related.

Upon the Notice that M. d' *Alincourt* had sent by the Post to one of the Ministers concerning his Eminency's Journey, and the Memorials that were delivered to him, his Letter was read in the Council of the Dispatches, where the matter was aggravated after such a manner, that the Counsellors, the Secretaries of State, and those of the King's Cabinet were engaged in it, with an intent to excite them all against M.

Dea-

Deageant, whom they knew that his Majesty had employed on this occasion: The Chancellor was desired to discourse with him somewhat sharply about it for two ends; one was to cause him to disapprove his Eminency's Journey, and to advise him to banish him to *Rome*: the other to perswade him to abandon *M. Deageant*, who was represented to him as guilty of High-Treason against the State, in performing this piece of Service. At the breaking up of the Council of the Dispatches, the Ministers being departed into the King's Closet, the Chancellor began to speak on the subject of his Commission, saying that the Lords of the Council haveing deliberately considered the contents of *M. d'Alincourt's* Letter, had judged that he that had induced his Majesty to consent to his Eminency's Journey, and had prepared the Dispatch, deserved immediately to be sent to the Gallies, without any form of Process or Tryal: But the King interrupting him declar'd, that all the Proceedings in that Affair, were directed according to his order, and for his

service, and forbad any mention to be made thereof to him for the future, under the penalty of his High Displeasure; insomuch that none durst persist in importuning him at that time. It is true indeed, that nothing was omitted that might incline *M. de Luines* to suspect this Action, from whom the King had dextrously and prudently conceal'd it, till it was accomplished; and to incite him without further delay to destroy, or at least to banish *M. Deageant* for ever from the Court, since it was apparent that although he was removed from the Council, and from the transaction of Affairs, nevertheless he desisted not from undertaking those of the greatest Importance, without giving him the least account thereof. From that very time the Prosecutions that had been raised against him were continually promoted, and never ceased since, tho he retired as far as possibly he could, and demeaned himself with the greatest Integrity.

M. de Luines was also disposed to gratify the Ministers in this respect, but he forbore to use his utmost efforts till

till the Treaty was concluded with the Queen-Mother, in which he was serviceable to him, even as to his own particular ; for asmuch as it had been made appear to him by certain Memorials, and by a Dispatch sent by some of the Counsellors that was intercepted, that they endeavoured to procrastinate this Treaty, till they had found out some means to procure his ruin and disgrace, whom they strove to render odious to her Majesty.

During this Treaty, the Prince solicited more earnestly than he had hitherto done to be released from *Bois de Vincennes*, where he was confin'd ; fearing lest if the Queen, who had caused him to be apprehended, should be near the King, she might also give order for his Banishment. The Queen on the other side, understanding the Inclination of the Court to grant the Prince's request, was apt to believe that if he were dismissed, he might oppose the Treaty, and prevent her Return to his Majesty. Moreover that which encreased her suspicion was the extraordinary kindness that M. de *Luynes* and his Brothers openly professed

fessed for the Prince, being allur'd by
 the fair promises that he had made
 to them, and by the Marriage of his
 Sister, the Widow of the deceased
 Prince of *Orange* with the younger,
 at present Duke of *Channes*; inso-
 much that the Queen sent a message
 to the King by *M. de Berulle*, to in-
 treat him that the Prince should not
 be set at Liberty, till she had repre-
 sented to him by word of Mouth the
 reason, that had induced her to con-
 sent to his Imprisonment; to which
 she declar'd, that she was not excit-
 ed by any private Animosity or Pas-
 sion, but only by the great desire she
 had to preserve his Majesty's Authori-
 ty, which was now so well establish-
 ed, that there was no ground or fear
 lest any one should presume to make
 an attempt against it. The King had
 determined long ago to release the
 Prince, and had not deferred it, only
 to maintain his Royal Power, and to
 avoid an occasion of offending the
 Queen his Mother; his Intention be-
 ing to take the first opportunity that
 should be offered, to compose the
 difference between them, and by this
 means

means to remove every thing that might disturb the Peace of his Kingdom. To this purpose, his Majesty caused the Prince to be inform'd, that he was willing to give him satisfaction, but that for the advantage of his Affairs, it was necessary for him patiently to wait till the Treaty should be concluded with the Queen his Mother; and that his liberty should be obtained through his Mediation, because he desir'd to reconcile them: He also promised to the Queen, by Letters and by *M. de Berulle*, that the Prince should not be acquitted but upon her instance, and after she had been with him: this was again confirm'd by other Letters, and (as I think) by one of the private Articles of the Treaty.

Thereupon, the Queen being assur'd of the Accomplishment of the Promises that had been made to her, traveled from *Angoulesme* to *Tours*, where it was agreed that she should go to meet the King, who was ready to receive her with all the Demonstrations of joy and respect that can be imagined; but before he proceeded, he sent *M. de Laines* to congratulate her,

at a House two or three miles distant from *Tours*; where after mutual Compliments they fell into discourse, and *M. de Luynes* declared to her Majesty, that the King had commanded him to acquaint her, that he had granted to the Prince his Liberty: She was surpriz'd at this word, and believed that since they began so soon to act contrary to what had been promised, they design'd to treat her otherwise than she expected, and to set up the Prince in opposition to her; insomuch that retiring into her Chamber, she disclosed her mind to some of her Friends, and demanded of them whether she should turn back again by the same way that she came; they replied that she was too far advanced, and though she was never so desirous to retreat, yet she could not, since she was surrounded on all sides with the King's Forces, and had nothing in possession but the House, therefore she ought to run the hazard, and to appear with a stern Countenance, and an undaunted Courage.

This Rencontre being soon made known to the vigilant Spies of the Court,

Court, they inferred from thence, that the good Correspondence between their Majesties would not be of long duration, and that the jealousy and mistrust, with which the Queen-Mother was possessed, would oblige her to raise another Faction: The Malecontents excited her to it from the very first day that she appeared at Court; and perceiving that M. *de Main*, who was come to see the King, and expected at his arrival to be received with extraordinary Caresses, for the many signal Services that he performed in the Conjunction, was very much dissatisfied at the coolness and indifferency, with which M. *de Luines* entertained him; as also the Nobility that were with him, and that had assisted him, immediately took that opportunity to attack him on the weak side, and to engage him in the party of the Queen, that daily increased after this manner; till at last the Animosities broke forth in a second taking up of Arms, that might have been foreseen and prevented if due care had been taken, and if the greater part of those, in whom M. *de Luines*

Luines confided, had not been more industrious in promoting his Ruin than his continuance in Favour and Reputation.

It hath been already observed that *M. de Luines*, though he withdrew his Affection from *M. Deageant*, and removed him from the Council, and from his Employment, had nevertheless entreated him not to retire from Court, till the Treaty with the Queen-Mother, in which he was very serviceable to him for the reasons above produced, should be finished. Moreover the Ministers could never forgive him the Trespass that he had committed against them, in his undertaking at the return of his Eminency. Father *Arnoux* the King's Confesser, having obtained a share in the dispatching of publick Negotiations, thought that he could not be well settled therein as long as *Deageant* remained at Court; therefore he became one of his most violent and powerful Persecuters. And *M. de Luines* was perswaded that he was enlightened from above, especially as to what concerned the Transaction
of

of the Affairs of State. These potent Adversaries being animated with envy and jealousy, together with several others that compared *Deageant* to the Gardiner's Dog, and were desirous to see him altogether discharged, hoping to reap some advantage thereby, at last obliged *M. de Luines* to resolve on the next day after the arrival of the Queen-Mother, to cause *M. de Luxemburg* his Brother, to tell him ruggedly enough, that he should retire into *Dauphine* with such orders as he should prescribe to him: for he had in the preceeding Evening represented to the King, that he was of opinion, that his Meditation with *M. de Lesdignieres* was very necessary at that time, to engage him in his Majesty's Service, and to prevent him from adhereing to the Factions of those of the Reformed Religion, that were then very predominant. The Ministers and others, according to whose advice *M. de Luines* acted in this respect in the Council that was holden that day, and afterwards in private, had intimated to his Majesty the great danger that was ready

dy to hang over their heads by the means of *M. de Lesdigniers*, and had often suggested to him, that in case he should take part with the Protestants, as he seemed to be inclin'd to it, he would be able to weigh down the Ballance, and to overturn the whole Kingdom, and that they knew no other Expedient by which he might be secured, but through the Intercession of *M. Deageant*, in whom he very much confided. This pretence was made use of, in hopes that they might thereby prevail with the King to consent to his Banishment, which all their Artifices, Insinuations and ill Offices could never as yet procure: *M. Deageant* was not so hated, but that he had some Friends left in the Council and near his Majesty, that discovered the fraud to him, which he already acknowledged, as being visible enough. Nevertheless not to diminish (as perhaps he might have done) the Reputation and Grandeur of *M. de Luines*, with whom he had lived in strict amity, and that had very lately protested to him, that he should alwaies esteem him as a fourth Brother

ther, he disposed himself to yield to that which was required of him, and so much the more willingly, in regard that he had never coveted great Employments, and because he judged that in this that was proposed to him, though it were only a pretence, yet he might take an occasion to perform good Service, as it afterwards happened.

The most part of those that were not concerned in the Conspiracy that was formed against him, seeing him depart from the Court in their Majesty's Favour, caressed and complemented by almost all the Grandees, Favourites and Ministers, without being charged with any Misdemeanour or Default, accounted his Removing to be feigned and affected; however it was well, and although to obtain it they had made use of a colour at pleasure, nevertheless Divine Providence, that usually disposeth matters to an end altogether different from that which is intended by men, extracted sweet fruits from this bitter root to the benefit of the Church and State; for it is most certain, and it may be averred

averred without vanity, that he found means to be very instrumental in the Conversion of *M. de Lesdignieres*. The King had given him a Letter of Credit very exprefs and written with his own Hand to *M. de Lesdigniers*, and *M. de Luines* had also done the like with a charge to use his utmost efforts to hinder him from joyning with the Factions, and to endeavour to oblige him to take a resolution to embrace the Catholick Religion, under an assurance, that if he did so, the King would bestow upon him the Office of Constable of *France*, that should be renewed to this end.

M. Drageant encouraged in this Commission by the happy success that attends all his Majesties good inclinations, and incited by the extreme Affection that he always bore to his Service, being arrived in *Dauphine*, used all means that he judged proper to satisfy his Desires and Commands, and by certain Springs and Methods, the rehearsal of which would be too tedious, he wrought such an Impression in a little time on the mind of *M. de Lesdignieres*, even beyond what

what was expected, that he obtained a promise of him that he would communicate to him all the Dispatches and all the verbal Propositions that should be proposed to him by those of the Reformed Religion, and would return no Answer to them but by his Advice, insomuch that he oftentimes prepared the Original Acts; which succeeded amongst other Occurrences, very profitably in the Deputation that the General Assembly of the Protestants at *Loudren* sent to him, with the consent of the Noble-men and principal Officers, offering to make him Generalissimo of all their Forces, and promising to furnish him with an Army of Twenty Thousand men, and with a Salary of One Hundred Thousand Crowns *per annum*, the payment of which should be secured to him in any Protestant City of *Europe* that he should chuse: For instead of accepting the Proposals he protested by word of mouth to the Deputies, and by a Letter to the Assembly, that he was resolved to remain in his Majesty's Service; and that if they did not behave themselves as they ought,
and

and as he exhorted them, since they had no Lawful Grounds to take up Arms, he would make use of all that was in his power to reduce them to Reason, and to maintain his Majesty's Authority; but if they would hearken to better Counsel than that to which he saw them inclined, and would return to their Duty, he would endeavour to obtain of the Kings Generosity, all that they could in reason expect; offering to take a Journey to Court to this purpose, in case they desired it. Furthermore after some Conferences that were adjusted by M. Deageant touching certain Points of Controversy, on which M. de Lefdignieres chiefly insisted, he gained a promise from him to be converted, and that in so doing, he would put out of all the Places that he possessed in *Dauphine* and out of *Villemur* near *Thoulouse*, the Governor and Soldiers of the Protestant Religion, whom he had established therein and would for the future admit none but Catholics, to such Offices and into his House: But forasmuch as he knew that there were in those Places and near his

his Person a considerable number of Servants very zealous in their Perswasion, that might undertake some Attempt against him, if they should smell out his Design, he desired that it might be kept secret, till his Majesty should think it convenient for him to make open Profession of the Catholick Religion; at which time he should have prepared all things requisite for the securing of the Province: M. *Deageant* having confirmed him in this Resolution, and perceiving that he studied by what means he should effect it, gave notice thereof to the King and to M. *de Luines*, and by his Dispatches enjoyned Secrecy, as absolutely necessary in this Affair, and so much urged by M. *de Lesdigueres*, that he had declared, that unless it were carefully observed he would proceed no further: When this Dispatch was brought to the Court; the King shewed an extreme satisfaction therein, and was pleased to write to M. *Deageant*, as also did M. *de Luines*, that he had performed a signal piece of Service; but that his Majesty judged that the Conversion

sion of *M. de Luines* ought to be deferred for some time, because he intended to employ him in procuring the Separation of the Assembly of *London*, foreseeing that their long Consultations would produce some sudden Commotion.

To this end the King wrote to him, ordering him to repair to the Court with all possible diligence, and required *M. Deageant* to accompany him. But as soon as the Protestants in *Dauphine*, that endeavoured to divert him from his Majesty's Service and to engage him in the Faction, understood his Resolutions, and saw that he continually preached to them nothing but Obedience to their Sovereign's Commands, they devised an Artifice to cause him to distrust and to hinder the prosecution of his intended Journey. A certain Gentleman amongst them visited his Kinsman and Neighbour being a Catholick and a Person of Quality, and having bound him with an Oath to keep secret whatsoever he should discover to him, and to be content only to provide for the Safety of his own Family, he feigned that

that the *Grandeess* of the Reformed Religion in that Country being assisted with those of *Vivarez* and *Sevennes* had conspired to massacre the Catholicks of *Dauphine*, and to begin with the Nobility; and that to prefix the time and to give the necessary Orders, an Assembly was to be holden upon such a day and in such a place, in which he should be present; adding that *M. de Lesdiguières* consented to it, who judged that this effusion of Blood was requisite to make himself absolute Master of *Dauphine*; that all the fair words that he had given to *M. Deageant*, and all the appearances of Affection that he shewed to his Majesty's Service, were only so many pretences to cover his design; and the better to colour this invention, the *Hugonot* Gentlemen perswaded his Catholick Kinsman firmly to believe that this Convention was certainly to meet, after the same manner as he had informed him.

The Authours of this Contrivance, imagined that the promised Secrecy would not be observed, as indeed they intended that it should not, and
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doubted not but that the Catholick Gentleman would immediately communicate what he had heard to a competent number of the most eminent Persons amongst the Catholicks, who would infallibly assemble together to take proper measures for their own security, without acquainting M. de *Lefdignieres*, who was represented as privy to the Conspiracy. The Protestant Gentleman, that had given this false Information, from that time narrowly watched all the Actions and Journeys of his Kinsman and of the other Catholick Gentlemen, to whom he thought that the Affair would be disclosed that he might learn where their Assembly should be gathered together; and might instantly give notice thereof to M. de *Lefdignieres* declaring to him that it was determined that as soon as he was arrived at *Paris*, the Catholicks should take up Arms, should fall upon the Protestants, and should attempt to seize on the Places that were in his Possession, being assured that the King's intention was to cause him to be sent Prisoner to the *Bastille*. They hoped

hoped by this Device to prevent his Journey, and to strike two strokes at once; one of which was that *M. de Lesdigueres* taking no care to disperse the Assembly of *Loudren*, it might still subsist, and might make Preparations for a War, which was the chief aim of these Incendiaries; and the other, that acting contrary to the King's Commands and to the Promise that he had made to go to the Court, he might be suspected by his Majesty, and that from thence Jealousies might be raised and fomented on both sides, which might give them an opportunity afterwards easily to make him sensible, that his Preservation absolutely depended on his Union with the Party in which he had advanced his Fortune: their Design was also to endeavour to exasperate him so far against the Catholicks under the pretence of their above mentioned Convention, that he might proceed to treat them severely, which might be the occasion of the beginning of those Commotions that they so fervently desired.

Many

Many of the principal Catholick Gentlemen, that were advertised of the Information that was given by the Protestant Gentlemen, met at *Valentinois*, under colour of a visit, to consult together: The Conclusion of their Debates was only this, that every one in particular should use all possible diligence to penetrate into the Design, and if there was any probability thereof, that they should give notice one to another; that they might re-assemble in greater numbers, and advise concerning the means that should be judged most proper for their Preservation: but in the mean time, that they should be always vigilant without making any shew of the least suspicion. During these Transactions the *Hugonot* Gentleman, who was very industrious in laying hold on an opportunity to palliate his deceit, took four or five Persons of different conditions, but of the same Religion, whom he caused to observe this Assembly, and went with them immediately to acquaint *M. de Lesdignieres*, naming to him all those that had been seen going to and fro, and urging

ing all the Arguments that he could invent, to inspire him with Jealousie, and to make his asseverations appear to him as true, according to his premeditated project: which hath been above related.

This Plot was so artificially contriv'd, that M. *de Lesdignieres*, giving credit to the report of the Protestant Gentleman that managed it, resolved not to depart, but to stand on his guard, and to take care of his own Affairs, being confirmed in the Resolution by divers Letters, that were written to him from the Court, importing that he was summoned thither only to be taken Prisoner. M. *Deageant*, who did not forsake him, seeing him extremely pensive, and perceiving that the Zealots of the Faction, that a little before appeared with a sad dejected Countenance, because they could not engage M. *de Lesdignieres* in the Rebellion, began to prick up their Ears, to speak haughtily and openly to scoff at him, judged that some evil Genius had obstructed his Negociation: But to find out the truth of the matter, he accosted M.

de Lefdiguières, declaring that he was very sorry to see him so much oppressed with Melancholy, and that he concealed the cause from him, fearing lest he should distrust his Conduct: nevertheless he solemnly protested to him, that he had never failed to demonstrate the sincerity of the Affection that he had professed to him; and that if any had perswaded him to the contrary, and had wrought an ill Impression on his mind with respect to the King, he could easily resolve his Doubts, and remove all Scruples and Suspicions, entreating him moreover to consider that the great number of envious Persons, that could not endure to see him so far advanced in his Majesty's Esteem and Favor, would leave no stone unturned to cause him to fall from thence, and to involve him in the mischiefs that usually attend popular Tumults and Insurrections. But on whatsoever side *M. Deageant* turned himself, it was impossible to extort any thing from him, but that he laboured under certain Distempers of old Age that irritated his

his Spirits, and caus'd him to be thus disturbed.

M. *Deageant* had some time ago, gained a Minister of the Province of *Languedoc*, who was one of the cheif Agents in the Affairs and Conspiracies of the Protestants, and very much esteemed by M. *de Lesdignieres*: he had also secretly procur'd his Conversion, and obtained a Brief from *Rome*, the Tenor of which was, That although he were received into the Bosom of the Church, yet he was permitted to continue the exercise of his Ministerial Function amongst the Protestants for the space of three years, provided he delivered nothing in his Sermons contrary to the true Catholick Faith, and did not administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. This Brief was granted, that the Minister might remain in his Employment, and might discover the Plots that were contrived in the Kingdom, in which Office he performed very remarkable Services. M. *Deageant* had divers Letters from those that manag'd the Transactions at the Court, that they had no bet-

ter nor more certain Intelligence concerning the Proceedings of the Protestants, than that which he had given them, and which he had received partly from *M. de Lesdignieres*, but more from this Minister, and several others with whom he kept a Correspondence; therefore he sent for him, and exhorted him to enquire as well amongst the most active of the Party, as of *M. de Lesdignieres* himself, in what condition he was, and what was the occasion of his being more pensive than ordinarily he used to be. It was not long e're he understood all the Circumstances of the Intrigue, and the end to which it tended; and having informed *M. Deageant* thereof they resolved, that to oblige *M. de Lesdignieres* to declare his thoughts freely, and to put him in mind of satisfying the King's desire, he should feign that he came on purpose to represent to him, that forasmuch as their Assembly of *Londren* was inclin'd to War, and in regard that their Churches not being in a capacity (according to his opinion) to maintain it, nor any Foreigners able to assist

assist them, nothing could be expected but Ruin and Desolation; he ought on the account of the Intrest that he had in the cause, and of his affection to the welfare of their Churches, to employ his Credit with the King, and his Authority with the Assembly, by some good Expedients to prevent the dismal Effects of so pernicious a Counsel. *M. de Lesdignieres* without giving him time to finish his discourse, reply'd, That he was disposed to go to the Court for this very purpose, but that some particulars had been related to him, that had caused him to change his Resolution, that no Propositions of an Accommodation ought any longer to be considered, but that they ought in good earnest to prepare to defend themselves with their Armes, since it was for the cause of their Religion. The Minister urged him to explain his meaning, and having at length discovered that he had certainly taken the above mentioned Artifices for an undoubted truth, he undeceived him by revealing the truth of the matter, according to the account that was given him, by one of the Authors, being the same person

from whom *M. de Lesdiguieres* had received an Intimation thereof, and that had caused him to be thus perplexed.

After this Conference, *M. Deageant* being instructed by the Minister, who acquainted him with what had passed, presented himself before *M. de Lesdiguieres*, whom he found with a more clear and serene Countenance than on the preceeding days ; he manag'd him after such a manner, that at last he confessed, that the occasion of his trouble was the news that he had heard concerning the Assembly of the Catholick Gentlemen, and the resolutions that he was told were taken therein, but that he was very lately informed by a Minister, one of his particular Friends, that this Device was invented by some of the Reformed Religion, on purpose to hinder his Journy ; however he affirmed that he was ready to depart, were it not that altho this Assembly were not gathered together upon an ill design, nevertheless he feared, lest any mis-carriage should happen in his absence, if the jealousies raised on both sides were not dispersed. To this end *M. Deageant* took such care
that

that the greatest part of the Catholick Gentlemen that had been in this Convention, appeared before *M. de Lesdiguières* at *Grenoble*, and there gave him so much light into the matter, joyned with reiterated protestations of their Innocency, that he was satisfy'd.

There remained then another difficulty as to his departure, which was very much importuned by the Court; but he desired that *M. Deageant*, who was ordered to accompany him in his Journey, should reside still in the Country, because he judged that his presence and mediation would be very necessary to keep every one within the bounds of his duty; he chiefly insisted on this, fearing lest upon the continuance of the above said Assembly, some disturbance or combustion should arise. As he was at *Lyons* going out of his Chamber to proceed in his Journey, his Servants and Baggage being sent before, a Gentleman that the late *M. de Nemours* had dispatched to him in post, delivered a Letter of Credence to him on his behalf, demanded audience of him in private, and told him that having not long ago attended his

Master in the *Louvre*, he then saw him in the little *Closet*, into which he durst not enter; but finding that of the Books open, he went into it out of curiosity, wherein he had no sooner set his foot, but he heard the King's voice, who came thither, and that being surpris'd with fear, lest he should be found there alone, he hid himself behind one of the Tapestry Hangings, from whence he saw Father *Arnoux*, and M. de *Luines*, who were alone in the King's presence, declaring to his Majesty that it was very good News that they had lately receiv'd concerning the certainty of the Departure of M. de *Lefdignieres*, that assoon as he was arriv'd he ought without any delay to be put into the *Bastille*; and that M. de *Luines* had said, That it was a Resolution taken for the Advantage of his Majesty's Affairs, which there was no probability that he would oppose: after this they all retired without perceiving him, and he knowing the Affection that his Master M. de *Nemours* bore to him, could not but acquaint him with what he had heard, and immediately received Orders to take

take Post, to give him an Account thereof. This Information, that was apparently devised with an intent to frustrate the good Effects that they foresaw would ensue upon the Journey and Intercession of *M. de Lesdiguières* for the Separation of the Assembly of *Loudren* on which depended Peace or a Civil War, obliged him again to mistrust, and to revolve in his mind that there might be some truth in that which they would so lately have perswaded him to be a Cheat in *Dauphine*: upon these imaginations he determined to return. *M. Deageant* seeing this sudden change, perceived that some new Artifice had operated, and having urged him thereupon and found the cause, easily perswaded him to examine the truth of the matter, by reasons drawn from the concomitant Circumstances, and amongst others, by inducing him to recollect, that the Closet of Books was surrounded with Presses that were fixed to the wall, the Tapestry being between both, after such a manner that there was not room enough to hide a Cat.

Being:

Being thus re-assured, he continued to prosecute his Journey, which succeeded so happily, that through his mediation, and that of the Marshal *de Chastillon*, the Assembly of *Loudren* was dissolved to the King's satisfaction.

During his Residence at the Court, no mention was made to him concerning the overture that *M. Deageant* was ordered to make to him, he was only told in taking leave, that every thing that had been promised should be effectually performed at his return to *Dauphine*, and that all necessary Expedients should be exhibited to him by *M. Deageant*, who nevertheless received but one Letter, in which was contained a command to continue his Negotiations with *M. de Lesdignieres*, and to obtain of him a new promise of his Conversion upon a second offer of the Office of Constable; in order to which, due preparations should be made as soon as the Affairs depending should be brought to perfection, according to the King's desire: *M. Deageant* finding no alteration as to the compact that was already made between him, and *M. de Lesdignieres*, whereof he had
given

given an account, confirmed it by another Dispatch, alledging that it should be certainly put in execution on any day that his Majesty should think fit to prescribe, provided that the matter were hitherto kept secret, for the Reasons that he had formerly written, and have been above specified.

But instead of Secresy, the Contents of *M. Deageant's* Dispatches were published at Court, and the renewing of the Office of Constable in favour of *M. de Lesdignieres* was publickly proclaimed, as well in consideration of his extraordinary Merits and Vertue, as of his Conversion: The Event soon made it appear to what end this Transaction was divulged, the concealment of which was expressly recommended for several Reasons relating to the nature of the thing and his Majesty's Service. This News being spread abroad the most part of the Foreign Protestant Princes, the Nobility of the Kingdom that professed the Reformed Religion, and almost all their Churches sent Letters to *M. de Lesdignieres*, and neglected no means that they thought proper to dissuade him from changing his Religion,

Religion, nay several Catholicks also assured him, that the Propositions that has been offered to him were only Snares to entangle and destroy him. His intimate Friends and Servants, that before only suspected, not daring to enquire into this matter, ceased not continually to importune him, and all being joined together, so disturbed his Mind, that he remained in doubt, being inclined rather to adhere more firmly to the Faction, than to withdraw himself from it. Whilst M. *Deageant* endeavoured to remedy this Evil, the consequence of which he very much feared, the *Marquess de Bressieux* arrived from the Court, and delivered to M. *de Lesdiguieres* a Letter of Credence from the King, and another from M. *de Luines*, acquainting him that he was sent on purpose to treat with him about a Business of great Importance, and therefore he demanded a private Audience. M. *de Lesdiguieres* having thereupon ordered one of his Attendants to call M. *Deageant*, he desired that he might be heard alone, because he was forbid to communicate his Commission to any but him : M. *de Lesdiguieres* replied

plied, that he would then advise him to say nothing, for since he knew M. *Deageant* his good Friend to be an upright Man, and very well affected to the King's Service, he should impart to him whatsoever he declared, and should take his advice therein. The Marquess *de Bressieux* seeing him obstinate in this Resolution, told him, that he did not think that M. *Deageant* ought in the least to be mistrusted, and that he would not refuse to discourse in his presence; but because he had accidentally met with him at his arrival, and had concealed from him the occasion of his Journey, he was desirous to see him before his Audience, to induce him to facilitate his Negotiation. Any one but M. *Deageant* would have been offended to see the manner of the Proceedings of those that sent him, and instead of promoting his Treaty, would have obstructed it as much as possibly he could; nevertheless he promised to assist him therein. The Commission of the Marquess *de Bressieux* being opened to M. *de Lesdiguieres*, there was nothing contained therein but a proposal of the Office of Constable, in case he should
turn

turn Catholick, which was the same Affair that *M. Deageant* had long agoe negociated with him, whereof he had often and very lately given notice, that *M. de Lesdignieres* had consented to it, and which he himself had confirmed to his Majesty and to *M. de Luines*, as well by word of Mouth in his last Journey from the Court, as since by Letters, having engaged his credit to accomplish all that had been agreed upon between him and *M. Deageant* in his Majesty's behalf. *M. de Lesdignieres* perceiving that nothing was propounded to him but what had been already concluded, judged that their Intention was to mock him, and absolutely rejected the Overtures that were made to him, protesting that if his Majesty questioned in the least his unmovable Affection and constant Fidelity to his Service, in the Religion that he professed; he was ready to abandon all his Offices, and to retire into any of the Protestant Cities being the Allies of France, that his Majesty should think fit to appoint: this he enforced with several Expressions, which argued that he was touched to the quick. It was

M. Dea-

M. Degeant's part to appease this Passion, as he did within few daies to that degree, that he obliged him to sign certain Articles that he had prepared concerning all the points that had been already agreed upon, as also to vouchsafe that the Marquess de Bressieux should be Mediator in this Transaction, since he was content to be serviceable therein, without pretending to any particular Interest. Thus the Marquess de Bressieux thinking to gain the sole credit and reputation in these Proceedings, returned to the Court carrying the Letters of M. de Lesdignieres and M. Degeant, together with a Copy of the above-mentioned Articles, the Original of which remained in the Hands of the latter; and promised to come again very speedily, laden with Dispatches and necessary Orders for the performance of the Agreement: But he was very much amazed that after he had made a Report of the Success of his Negotiation, no further mention was made to him thereof, especially when he understood that M. de Bullion was sent to manage it after another manner.

Although

Although the Expedition of the Marquess *de Bressieux* ought to have been kept secret, as it had been advised, unless other designs were in agitation altogether different from those that were pretended: Nevertheless his Papers were read in a full Council, and it was determined that the Office of a Constable that was vacant by the Death of the Constable of *Montmorency* should be re-established; but instead of the Grant that was promised to be made in favour of *M. de Lesdignieres*, a Breviate only was ordered to be drawn up in his Name, which was sent to him by *M. de Bullion*, who was enjoined to present it to him, and to persuade him at the same time to entreat the King to bestow it on *M. de Luines*, and to be content for his own part with the Office of Marshal General of the Armies, and a Pension of Eighteen Thousand Livres *per Annum*, without being obliged to turn Catholick. *M. de Bullion* whether he had any particular instructions or otherwise, intended also to treat with him privately; but *M. de Lesdignieres* declared to him

as he had done to the Marquess *de Bressieux*, that he would disclose every thing to *M. Deageant*, and would follow his Advice; upon this account he was sent for at the first Audience of *M. de Bullion*, in which he only discoursed concerning his Conversion and the accomplishment of all those things that were already concluded, without speaking so much as one word relating to the principal cause of his Journey: But having found an opportunity to talk with him apart, he represented it to him, and propounded a strick Alliance between him and *M. de Luines*, which was to be bound with the Marriage of *M. de Canaples* his Grandson with *Madam de Combalet* the Niece of *M. de Luines*. *M. de Lesdiguieres* demanded some time to consider of it, and took an occasion to confer two or three hours with *M. Deageant* on the subject of these new Overtures, at which he was very much incensed, being astonished that after his Conversion had been so long solicited, and he had been prevailed with so far as to promote it, a Declaration should now be made
to

to him that it was convenient for him to remain in the Religion that he professed; from whence he inferred all the ill consequences that can be imagined. *M. Deageant*, though he was not a little surprized at such a proposition, yet considering that if *M. de Lesdiguières* should reject it, such discontents and suspicions might ensue as would be sufficient to withdraw him from the King's Service, his fidelity and adherence to which was at that time necessary, produc'd several solid and cogent Arguments in opposition to those that *M. de Luynes* had objected to him, as he afterwards declared his Mind to Monsieur *de Bullion*, and concealed not from him, that he had been confirmed in this Opinion by the Counsel of *M. Deageant*. As soon as notice thereof was given at Court *M. de Lesdiguières* was ordered to repair thither, and *M. de Bullion* and *M. Deageant* were commanded to accompany him. The King seemed earnestly to desire this Journey as well on the account of *M. de Bullion's* Dispatch, as to take the advice of *M. de Lesdiguières* upon the Design

Design that the Protestants had devised to cause a General Assembly to meet at *Rochel* without his Majesty's leave, and contrary to his Prohibition, which they actually accomplished, and from whence ensued the War that the King brought to so happy and glorious an end.

Monsieur *de Lesdignieres* before his departure in his Journey, and at his arrival at *Paris* received several Informations that all the honour and profit that had been proposed to him would cease in the Imprisonment of his Person in the *Bastille* during the remainder of his Life, and although the greater part knew that there was no such thing intended, and only gave out this Intelligence with a Design to corrupt him, nevertheless there was somewhat of truth and reality, of which M. *Deageant* had an intimation; for it was resolved in a Privy Council of some particular Ministers of State, to arrest M. *de Lesdignieres*, and to proclaim War against all the Protestants, who were represented to M. *de Luines* as so weak and unable to make any considerable Resistance, that
within

within a year they might be easily
 suppressed; it was alledged that this
 would be the only means to advance
 his Glory, and to make it appear to
 all men that the King had deserved-
 ly conferred on him the Office of
 Constable, which they had advised
 him to assume to himself. *M. Deage-*
ant entreated him to hearken to
 what he had to offer to his conside-
 ration on this account, and calling
 him aside into a little Closet persua-
 ded him to take Pen, Ink and Paper,
 and caused him to draw from this
 affair a great number of Consequen-
 ces that were almost all necessary,
 and tended to dangerous precipices,
 that threatned the ruin of the King's
 Person, the Catholick Religion, the
 Kingdom, and his Family in particu-
 lar. So many inconveniencies (said
 he thereupon) were not foreseen,
 but howsoever it may happen, the Dice
 are cast, and there is such a progress
 made in this Enterprize, that they
 were obliged to run the hazard.
M. Deageant was not able entirely to
 dissuade him from prosecuting the
 War, though he assured him that by
 the

the measures that he had taken with *M. de Lesdignieres*, preparations were made to gain more advantages over the Protestants in six months without drawing the Sword, than could be obtained in many years by all the King's Forces. At length he compelled him to condescend to the performance of the last promises that were made to *M. de Lesdignieres* by *M. de Bullion*, that he should be employed in the Armies, that he should be honourably treated, and that instead of denouncing War against the Protestants, it should be only declared against the Factious and Rebelious, forasmuch as that first Declaration would necessarily force all those of that Religion to defend themselves, and would stir up the foreign Protestant Princes to assist them, but this would destroy them after such a manner, that none but those, that were purely factious and that had nothing to lose, would be willing to be accounted as Rebels.

All sorts of Artifices were used as well with the King as *M. de Luines* to excite them to explode this proposition

position, and to adhere to the former, as also to cause *M. Deageant* to be esteemed as the greatest Heretick and most dis-affected to his Majesty's Service that ever was in the Kingdom: but their Attempts were vain, for his Majesty was inclined to follow the advice that was most gentle, most certain and the least dangerous, to which all those that had regard only to the King's Service voluntarily subscribed, insomuch that the Declaration was published on the fourth day of April 1621. with a resolution that in case the Assembly of *Roche* would not disperse themselves, and refused to accept the offers and reasonable Proposals that were made to them through the mediation of *M. de Lesdignieres*, his Majesty should march on that side with his Army to reduce the Rebels to Obedience.

Nothing could be added to the care that *M. de Lesdignieres* took to oblige them to return to their duty, whereof I can speak as knowing it by experience, because I prepared all the Letters, Memorials and Instructions for those that were sent to them at several

ral times, who were Persons whom I chose being well affected to his Majesty's Service. But when he saw that the Assembly rejected all his good Counsels and proceeded to extremity, he advised the King to prepare to go and chastise them, and offered to serve him in person with all that belonged to him. This Resolution being made known to the General Deputies of the Protestants, the *Sieur de Favas* who was one of them, entreated him to make use of his interest to procure the deferring of these proceedings for eight or ten days, in which he would endeavour to persuade the Assembly to submit upon the terms and conditions that had been offered to them, and engaged himself to effect it: His Majesty was willing to grant this time, nevertheless he ordered his Troops to march, and resided at *Fontainebleau* expecting the event of this Journey, from which he hoped for so much the greater success, in regard that ample provision was made for the gratifying of the *Sieur de Favas* in case he should perform what he had promised: But he neglected it and on the contrary
 took

took upon him the Office of Admiral on the other side, and abode in *Rochel*.

Assoon as the King was informed thereof, he went forward on the way, and being arrived at *Tours* held a Council to consult what was convenient to be done, and especially whether he should pass through *Saumur* or not, it was carried in the Affirmative; but to take away all suspicion from the *Sieur au Pl. ssis*, the King was advised not to lodge in the Castle; but within a few hours after, his Majesty having conferred with one of his particular Servants changed his Opinion, and dispatcht the *Sieur du Hallier* Captain of his Guards to prepare Lodgings for him in the Castle, that were already provided in the City, having also ordered *M. de Lesdiguieres* to advance, and with him *M. de Bullion* and *M. Deageant*, to treat friendly with him concerning this Affair: The Garrison was sent into one of his Houses, and it was agreed with him that the Place should be committed for some time to the custody of the Count *de Sault*, who was not as yet a Catholick, and afterwards should be restored

restored into the Hands of the *Sieur du Plessis*: it is certain that if it had not been secured, there was a Design, as soon as the King should depart, to introduce a competent number of the Protestant Soldiers to keep it to block up that Passage from his Majesty's Forces, and to facilitate the Approach of the Supplies that the Rebels waited for from this Side of the River *Croire*. Some Persons that were intimate with *M. du Plessis* favoured this Enterprize (as it was thought) contrary to his Intention.

I shall not here enlarge on the remaining Circumstances of his Majesty's Journey, because I had no knowledge of those Particulars, since I was not admitted into the Council, and kept no Correspondence with *M. de Luines*, tho he often complemented me after an extraordinary manner: I shall only observe that they that had given their advice to use the most violent means, perceiving that *M. de Luines* was dissuaded from it (as it hath been above represented) prevailed with him by divers Stratagems, daily to take measures contrary to his Promise, and

tending to foment the Jealousies already raised, and consequently to encourage the Insurrections and Riots of the Protestant Party : to prove this I need only to mention the Transactions, to the prejudice of the Capitulation, at *St. Jean d' Angély*, at *Ponts*, at *Clerac* and other places.

There happened amongst others a remarkable Occurrence at the Siege of *St. Jean d' Angély*, that was sufficient to frustrate the King's Journey and Design, if God (the visible Protector of his Majesty's Undertakings) had not prevented the Mischiefs that would otherwise have ensued : The King removed from the first Lodgings that were provided for him at that Siege ; and to be nearer the Place, took others in *St. Julien*, where *M. de Lesdiguieres* was already posted. On a certain Day, as Father *Arnoux* gave Audience after Dinner to several Persons, a Gentleman, whom *Madam de Lesdiguieres* had sent to treat with him about a business relating to her, entered and advanced very near him without being perceived, because he sat with his Back towards the Door, discoursing with a Bishop: He

He reported that he heard this Prelat commending Father *Arnoux* for the good Counsels that he had given to the King, and especially for two Motions that were made being attributed to him alone, one of which was, That he had incited his Majesty to undertake so just a War as that which was now begun; and the other, That he had drawn *M. de Lesdignieres* to the Court, who was the only Person that was able to stop the Progress of his Majesty's Arms: at which Words this Father answered aloud, *We have caught the subtil Fox, and he shall never escape out of our Hands.* The Gentleman having observed this Passage retired without speaking to Father *Arnoux*, and related to *M. de Lesdignieres* the Circumstances of this Rencounter: who was not as yet so perfectly recovered from his Indisposition that was caused by the Jealousies and Fears of being apprehended, but that this Blow galled the Wound afresh; insomuch that being very melancholy, he retreated apart to consider by what means he might make his Escape: the most part of the Noble-men, that were

then at Court, knew in less than two Hours that these Words had been spoken by Father *Arnoux*, and heard by a Gentleman that belonged to M. de *Lesdignieres's* Family, and instantly came to him to exhort him to withdraw himself privately, and to get into some place of Safety, offering to assist him as far as lay in their Power; and M. de *Montmorency* freely proposed to accompany him in person. He thereupon had recourse to some of his Retinue, that were zealous Promoters of the Faction, and urged him to go directly to *Rochell*; but having ruminated and pondered in his mind every thing that had been represented to him on this Occasion, he took a Resolution to depart at mid-night towards *Dauphine*, and to take the road through *Auvergne*, judging, that being furnished with about two thousand Men, being part of the Army of which he was assured, that should follow him wheresoever he went, and by the help of those Protestant Forces that he should gather by the way, and others that would come from *Dauphine* to meet him, he might pass with-

without any Impediment or Molestation. M. *Deageant*, who (as hath been above said) never lost the sight of him, but continually attended him according to the express Orders that he had receiv'd from the King, having observed an extraordinary hurrying to and fro that Afternoon, and that the Countenance of M. *de Lesdiguières* was suddainly changed, as soon as he could get an Opportunity to talk with him privately, he urged him to declare whether he were well in Health, or whether he had received any News that had troubled him: at last having thoroughly questioned and examined him, he disclosed the whole Matter. Therefore knowing that the King had so great an Esteem for M. *de Lesdiguières*, that he alwaies rejected such Propositions as tended to the least Severity towards him; and considering on the other side the great Damage to which his Majesty's Affairs would be obnoxious, if M. *de Lesdiguières* should retreat after this manner, he propounded to him all the Reasons that he thought to be most proper to give him full Satisfaction;

and desired him to condescend so far as to permit him to go to the King and *M. de Luines* on this account, promising that if he could discover that there was any Design to offer him any Injury, he would freely declare it to him, and would be Partaker of the same Fortune with him, since he had honoured him so far as to come upon the Assurance that he had given him on behalf of his Majesty.

Thus *M. Deageant* having acquainted the King with all that had passed, his Majesty shewed his high displeasure and indignation at the occasions of Suspicion that were so often given to this good Man; *If I could believe* (said he) *that any should presume to abuse him, I would rather lose my Crown than suffer it: bring him to me that I may certify him by Word of Mouth.* This was immediately done, insomuch that *Monsieur de Lesdignieres*, that had a great Affection for his Majesty's Person, returned very well satisfied, and constantly waited on the King at the Siege of *Montauban*, where they began again to make Parties against him; some continually buzzed the King in the Ear that

that he doted, and others that he held correspondence with those of *Montauban* and the rest of the Rebels, and that they were informed by him of every thing that was performed in his Majesty's Army, and all concluded that he ought to be seized; but I can certainly avouch, as being well assured of this Truth, that he served his Majesty faithfully, and was so much concerned for the taking of that Place, that he sought all possible means to effect it: I was the Bearer, at five several times, of as many Directions that he sent to the King, by what means he might reduce the City. All competent Judges, that understand the Art of War, and were not possessed with Passion, were agreed as to this Point; and have since affirmed, that if his Instructions had been followed, without doubt the King would not have been compelled, as he was, to raise the Siege. I am persuaded that if *M. de Luines* had been of the same Opinion, he would have had a greater Deference to the known Experience of *M. de Lesdignieres*; for notwithstanding what was maliciously reported of him, that he was not wil-

ling that *Montauban* should be taken; on the account of his particular Interest, it is most true that he was extremely displeased that the Attempt proved ineffectual. *M. de Luines* was so far pre-engaged by certain Persons, some of whom (as I have already said) intended to bring matters to the utmost Extremity, and others to cause him to commit some Fault that they might thereby take an occasion to ruin him, that he hearkened to no Counsels but theirs; to this very purpose they so often inculcated to him the necessity of the Imprisonment of *M. de Lesdiguieres*, that he was in a manner forced to yield to their Persuasions, which was the reason that to find means to avoid this Compulsion, he was not sorry when he heard that *M. de Mombrun*, whom the Assembly of *Rochel* had chosen Lieutenant General of the Churches in *Dauphine*, had taken the Field with an Army that alarmed all those Countries, because he thought that his Adversaries would be easily induced to defer their Persecution till some other more convenient time; and to consent that he should be

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sent into *Dauphine* to appease these new Tumults. The King was advised at the end of the Siege of *Montauban* to return to *Paris* by the way of *Langue-doc*, because the Rebels not having an opportunity to fortify their Places, would be easily reduced to their Obedience by his Majesty, as he passed, without striking a stroke; whereas if he gave them time to work therein, he would afterwards find it very difficult to suppress them. Thereupon an Assembly of all the Noble-men of the Court, and of all those that belonged to the Council of War and that of State, were gathered together, wherein this Affair was debated, and it was unanimously concluded, that the return through *Languedoc* was necessary, and would be apparently most advantageous. The Council being adjourned, and the *Sieur de Blainville*, who was not as yet admitted into it, and the *Sieur le Maine* Baron of *Chaban* Adjutant-General appearing, M. de *Luines* desired them to declare their Opinion concerning their Determination, who being both instructed in this Matter, gave advice contrary to what had been

agreed upon with the general Approbation and Consent of the Convention, which prevailed so far that the King took the nearest Road to *Paris*, to the great Detriment of his Majesty's Proceedings; for it is certain that no City durst then shut up their Gates against him: but in the following Year, having gained time to fortify themselves, they compelled him to bring an Army against them at the cost of vast Expenses and Inconveniences, that subdued but very few Places; and the rest obliged him to undertake another Journey that proved more successful than the former, since he finished the War and happily overthrew this Monster of Sedition and Rebellion, that had so long raged in *France*.

When *M. de Lesdignieres* had obtained leave to return into *Dauphine* to suppress the Insurrections of the Protestants, the King thought fit to order *M. de Bullion* to attend him, and commanded *M. Deageant* who had not stirred from him for the space of about two Years, to wait upon his Majesty for the future, and to serve him as occasion required: this redoubled the Jealousies

Jéalousies of his Enemies who persecuted him incessantly; tho to avoid their Fury he kept himself at as great a distance as he could from the King's Person, and from publick Negotiations, without entring into any of the Councils, notwithstanding the new Orders that were lately given by his Majesty that he should be re-admitted into the same Station and Priviledges that he had heretofore enjoyed. At the Arrival of *M. de Lesdiguieres* in *Dauphine* every one laid down his Arms; but the Rebels of *Languedoc* having taken the advantage of the time that was left them, in making good all the Passes and Forts, and seeing the King removed far from them, began to lift up their Horns ravaging and plundering the Country, and in divers places treated the Catholicks very severely, which obliged the King to resolve to march thither in the Spring; and because the Inhabitants of *Bays* and *le Poussin*, who took part with the Male-contents, obstructed the Communication of the *Rhone*, which was necessary for the convenience of the Army that his Majesty intended to lead
into

into *Languedoc*; he commanded M. *de Lesdignieres* to raise Forces to besiege these two Places, and to keep the *Rhone* clear, having appointed that one moiety of the Charges should be supplied out of the Treasury, and the other raised in *Dauphine*: but for want of Money or otherwise, these Levies proceeded very slowly, tho the King had given express Orders that they should be dispatched with all possible Expedition. At last perceiving the Season to decline, and the Progress that the Rebels had made in *Gascony* and *Languedoc*; he sent M. *Deageant* in post to hasten the execution of his Commands, and to accompany M. *de Lesdignieres* with M. *de Bullion*. M. *de Lesdignieres* at that time erected a Bridge of Boats over the *Rhone*, which was an attempt formerly esteemed exceeding difficult, and almost impossible by reason of the violence of the Stream; took possession of the two Places above mentioned, and kept the Passages open on the side of the River. And his Majesty having in this Journey reduced several Cities to their Duty, went to besiege *Montpelier*.

During

During this Siege, the particular case of *M. de Lesdiguieres* was considered in the Privy Council; it was represented to the King, that in the state wherein he was at present, he could not be assur'd of his fidelity and constancy; for if he should turn his coat, and should hearken to the advantageous Propositions that were daily offered to him by the Protestants, as it might happen, he would so considerably strengthen the Factionous Party, that his Majesty would hardly be able to overcome them; and therefore that there were but two Expedients to prevent these ill Consequences, either to cut off his Head, or to engage him more firmly in his Majesty's Service, by giving him the Office of Constable upon condition that he should change his Religion, which if he refused to do, he ought immediately to be dispatched out of the way. It was concluded to try the more gentle way, and instructions were drawn up and directed to *M. de Bullion* with a Duplicate for *M. Deageant*, tending to persuade *M. de Lesdiguieres* to finish his Conversion, to which the Office of
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Constable was annexed: He seemed at first to scruple it, but M. *Deageant* having put him in mind of the promise that he had formerly made, and signed it with his own hand, and being fully satisfied as to the controversial points that were in dispute between the two Churches, he freely offered to yield an entire obedience to all that his Majesty required of him, and within a few days after made publick Profession of the Catholick Religion at *Grenoble* in the presence of the Arch-Bishop of *Embrun*, and at the same time was invested with the Office of Constable, and with the Order of the Holy Ghost. Afterwards he went to meet the King at the Camp before *Montpelier*, and was very serviceable in the reducing of that Place, that might have cost his Majesty a great deal more trouble. I was there taken sick with a disease that lasted eighteen months, the greatest Extremity of which being abated, when the King prepared to return to *Paris*, he was pleased to command me to follow him: nevertheless during that time I almost continually kept my Bed and Chamber, which is the

the cause that I can give no account of what passed afterwards, since I had no knowledge of the ensuing Transactions and Occurrences.

There were divers Changes and Revolutions at Court, and the Ministers of State often played at fast and loose, endeavouring to supplant one another: The Marquess *de la Vieuille* was the chief amongst them, that in caressing me was the Author of most of the injuries and persecutions that were raised against me, and I cannot tell for what reason; for to my knowledge, I never offended him, and always retired as much as I could from the King's Presence, and from the Affairs of State: his ill will induced him so far, that the King having ordered the Marshal *d'Ornano* to be put into the *Bastille* for disobeying the Command that his Majesty had given him, to repair to his Government of *St. Esprit*, he caused my name to be incerted in the Warrant; the Courier, that brought it from *Compeigne*, where the Court then resided, having declared this to the Deputy of the *Sieur Almeras* Post-Master General, as he received his Ticket

Ticket to provide Horses, the Deputy informed his Master thereof, and he revealed it to M. *de Guise* who being with the King, that often laughed at his extravagant humours, told him, that *His Majesty had given an occasion to the Marshal d'Ornano, and Deageant to run mad, since he had caused them to be confined in the Bastille.* Deageant (replied the King) *there was no such thing intended. It is certainly so,* (said M. *de Guise*) *for here stands Almeras, who told me that his Deputy received the news from the Courier that carried the Order.* His Majesty thereupon gave signal demonstrations of his Generosity and Justice, which being made known to the Marquess *de Vieuille* oblig'd him to dispatch another Warrant, that only mentioned the Marshal *d'Ornano*, and to send back speedily to countermand the first. That I might absolutely get clear from the Incumbrances and Fatigue of publick Negotiations, I had by degrees withdrawn my self from the Conversation of M. *de Lesdignieres*, and forbore to follow the Retinue of the Court any longer, with an intention as soon as I had settled my domestick Affairs

Affairs in *Paris*, to retreat for altogether.

The *Marquess de la Vieuille* very much feared, lest the Cardinal of *Richelieu* should approach near the King, and should be present at the Consultations; and perceiving that his Majesty desired to strengthen the Privy Council with some persons endued with extraordinary Judgment and Prudence, he endeavoured to introduce one of his *Creatures*; but having received a repulse he took another course, which was this: he represented to his Majesty, that *M. de Lesdiguières*, (with whom he contracted a strict friendship) ought alwaies to possess one of the principal Places in the Council, and that by reason of his deafness, some one should be admitted with him, to repeat to him the Propositions that should be made therein, and named one of his particular Friends, whom he affirmed to be better qualified for this Office than *M. de Bullion*, to whose discredit he spake many things to dissuade his Majesty from confiding in him: nevertheless he rejected this second Proposal, and
within

within a few days after, discoursing on this subject with the Constable *de Lesdignieres*, he told him that he intended to re-establish me in my former Employment, and that instead of *M. de Bullion* I should constantly attend him in the Council, and other places where his Majesty's Affairs were transacted. *M. de Lesdignieres* without offering me any Injury, made use of his interest in favour of *M. de Bullion*, to procure him to be preferred before me, as he ingenuously confessed to me; for indeed he was more worthy, and I believe that *M. de Lesdignieres* would have met with no difficulty in this point, were it not for the kindness that the Marquess *de la Vieuille* had lately shewed to *M. de Bullion*. However it were, the Constable *de Lesdignieres* by the King's express Command sent a Courier to me with a Letter, that ordered me to depart instantly with my Equipage, and to come to meet his Majesty at *Compiene*, never to leave him for the future.

I proceeded in my Journey, but without any Equipage, determining to use my utmost Efforts to avoid this new
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Promotion that was contrary to my Resolution. The King was on that day a hunting, and I saw the Constable *de Lesdignieres* first, who acquainted me with his Majesty's Pleasure, and enjoyned me in his Name immediately to prepare Memorials and Instructions for *M. de Bethunes*, whom the King designed to send Ambassador Extraordinary to *Rome* on several occasions, and chiefly about the Affair of the *Valtoline* that was then most urgent. Afterwards I went to see some of my Friends that had free Access to the King, that I might be inform'd of the present state of Affairs, and to intreat them to lay down before his Majesty such Reasons as I should exhibit to excuse me from this Employment: They described to me all the particular Transactions at Court, and affirmed that the design of the *Marquess de la Vieuille* was to establish himself in the Reputation and Authority that he had already acquired, to remove all those that were able to oppose him or might eclipse his Glory, to enter into a strict Alliance with the Constable, by the means of the marriage of his Daughter

ter with the Count *de Sault*, and to bring the President *le Jay* into the number of the Ministers of State, in hopes that he might cause the Seals to fall into his Hands. But because he feared above all things, lest the Queen-Mother should at last prevail with the King to admit the Cardinal of *Richelieu* into the Council, and to a share in the Administration of publick Negotiations, he endeavoured continually to render him odious to his Majesty, whom he solicited to oblige him to reside at *Rome*, alledging that the Queen-Mother would not be much offended at it, provided that the *Sieur Barbin*, who was banished into *Flanders*, were restored to her: I understood also, that to meet with less opposition in his Attempts, knowing that the Queen-Mother was retired from the *Louvre* to *Luxemburg*, with an intent to take Physick during fifteen Days; he had perswaded the King to go to *Compeigne* hoping that there, in her Majesty's Absence, he might easily accomplish his Enterprize. And as for my own particular, finding that he could not divert the King from the

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Resolution that he had taken to make use of my Service, he thought it convenient to engage *M. de Toiras* on his side, telling him that he would assist him to procure this Office for the *Sieur de Clare* Intendant of the Treasury, his intimate Friend; they both attempted this, but in vain.

The King being come home from hunting, was pleased to honour me so far as to confirm what the Constable had imparted to me on his behalf, and commanded me to dispatch the Instructions of *M. de Bethunes*, because his Journey required all the Expedition imaginable; I excused myself as well, because I had no Lodgings, Paper, nor other things necessary for such a Work, as on the account of what I had heard (which was very true) that the *Marquess de la Vieuille*, having taken out of the Hands of the *Sieur Herbaut* all the Papers relating to this Negociation, without which it was impossible to proceed, was gone to *Paris* to seek for some assistance to digest them, and to hinder me from undertaking this Business; thus I obtained leave of his Majesty to return thither

ther to fetch my little Furniture, intending nevertheless to defer it as long as I could, to find out some means to prevent my being again involved in the multiplicity of intricate Affairs, wherein I saw that it was impossible for me to subsist, tho I should be inclined to it. *M. de Bullion* cannot but remember that I gave him notice of the Calumnies that were raised against him, with a design to remove him, that he might take care to prevent the Effect, as he afterwards did by his prudent and vigilant Conduct. As soon as I arrived at *Paris*, I desired the *Sieur de Tremblay* at present Governor of the *Bastille*, whom I knew to be intimate with the Cardinal of *Richelieu*, speedily to inform him of the Devices that I had heard were contrived against him; I declared also that unless some means were used to induce the Queen-Mother, who intended to begin her course of Physick on the next day, instantly to repair to *Compeigne*; it was to be feared lest his Enemies should prevail, and consequently the King and the State would be deprived of the Advantages which his Majesty's faithful

ful Servants, that had any knowledg of his Eminency's excellent Qualifications and Endowments, expected upon his entry into the Council, which had already been proposed to him. I thought it not convenient to give this account to his Eminency my self, because I knew that all my Actions were strictly observed, neither did I ever much study my one profit: however the Queen-Mother went on that very day to the *Louvre*, where she lay, and the next morning departed to *Compeigne* being accompanied with his Eminency, who within a few daies after was admitted to the Ministry to the great benefit of the King and Kingdom.

His Eminency knows better than any the Negotiations that were afterwards managed not only in *France*, but also in all the most considerable places of Christendom; neither can a perfect Relation of those Occurrences be composed without his instructions. As for my own particular, since I had no share therein, and was not very curious in enquiring into other mens business, I could hardly
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get intelligence of what passed in the lower sphere of the Court; therefore I shall only mention some few Transactions, in which my Enemies falsely reported that I was concerned, against the King's Service, and perhaps his Eminency will not take it amiss that I discover the truth, which without doubt hath been always concealed from him: to give a clearer light into this matter I shall relate all the circumstances thereof from the beginning. Above a year had passed since I withdrew my self from the Court, and was continually employed in the dispatching of my private Affairs at *Paris*, in order to my total retreat, when the late Marshal *d'Effiat* came to my House and commanded me in his Eminency's Name to endeavour to decipher certain obscure propositions, that the *Flemmings* had exhibited to him for the promoting of Trade and Commerce; and in case I could pick out the meaning, to prepare the necessary expedients: I had formerly applied my self to the study of things of the like nature, insomuch that it cost me less pains and trouble in apprehending

prehending the intention of these *Flemings*; and joyning their propositions to the particular knowledge that I had acquired, I drew up a method, by which according to my weak judgment such a commerce might easily be established, as with little or no charge would far surpass all others in *Europe*; and the King would thereby become Master of the Seas: some time was spent in this laborious Work, during which the Marshal *d'Effiat* came often to confer with me, and to urge the expedition thereof on behalf of his Eminency. One day as I read to him what I had composed, and being come to a Passage relating to a certain Right of Arrearage that belonged to the Marshal *d'Ornano*, from which the Merchants desired to be exempted; he told me that it ought to be reserved to him, and desired me to give him notice to meet at my house the next day about the same hour, that they might discourse together on this subject: they came thither at the time appointed, and I can certainly affirm that the Marshal *d'Ornano* never set his foot within my

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door

door since I desisted from managing
 of publick affairs, because he bore no
 very good will towards me: there
 the Marshal d' *Effiat* contracted great
 familiarity with him, and promised
 that he would take care that his right
 of *Anrearage* should be preserved.
 Within a few days after, his Maje-
 sty being departed to *Fontainebleau*,
 and his Eminency to *Fleury*, the Mar-
 shal d' *Effiat* required me in his name
 to introduce the *Flemmings* into his
 presence, and to bring all that I had
 prepared on account of the propound-
 ed Commerce: his Eminency having
 perused my Work, and heard the Mer-
 chants in particular was exceeding well
 satisfied with the proceedings, order-
 ed them for the future to apply them-
 selves to none but me; and enjoined
 me to finish other dispatches that
 were requisite for the accomplishment
 of this design. Being returned to *Paris*,
 the Marshal d' *Effiat* commanded me,
 as it were in his Eminency's name, im-
 mediately to endeavour to persuade
Monsieur the King's Brother to de-
 part to *Fontainebleau*, according to the
 desire of the King and the Queen-
 Mother,

Mother, without resisting any longer, as he had done, being excited (as it was thought) by certain factious incendiaries, that designed to detain him at *Paris* that they might engage him in their Cabala: I excused my self alledging that I had no access to him, and that a whole year being passed, since I forbore to frequent the Court, I had an opportunity to speak with his Highness but once, which happened six months ago, when I met him walking in the *Tuilleries*; and the more I strove to avoid it, the more he urged me, affirming that it would be esteemed as a signal piece of service: at last he was content that I should only go and make an attempt. Thereupon I solicited the Marshal d'*Ornano*, inasmuch that he offered several Arguments to the Prince to induce him to give their Majesties the satisfaction that they desired in this respect, which proved so effectual, that his Highness went the same day, and lodged at *Fontainebleau*.

About that time I was informed that the Abbot *Feuquan*, & *Anglois* his Brother, and one *Ferrier* lately de-

ceased, formerly a Minister of State, who for some months almost continually attended the Marshal *d'Effiat*, and others that had free access to the Cardinal of *Richelieu*, had conceived great jealousies, because his Eminency had employed me in the above-mentioned affair, and had openly commended my Work after a very extraordinary manner; and that every one of them fearing lest if he should keep me near his Person, their devices might be frustrated, they all conspired together to procure my ruin, of which I ought to have been aware, and to have stood on my guard; but since I had no other aim but to obey his Eminency's Command relating to the matter of Commerce then in agitation, which being finished, as it almost was, as far as it depended on my part to perform, I intended to retire. However my misfortune was so great, that I neglected to follow the advice that was given me, since if I had mentioned but one word to his Eminency, perhaps the King's Justice and his would not have been prevented, as it is probable

ble that it was in this case; for within a few days after, as I was putting the last hand to the second Memorial that his Eminency had desired, that I might deliver it to him the next day at *Fleury*, according to the order that I had received from the Marshal *d'Effiat* in his name, I was carried Prisoner to the *Bastille*, where I have been confined, with a great deal of rigour during four years and seven months, being shut up close for a good part of that time, without liberty to take the least Air, though I was certainly informed that his Eminency had wrote at two several times that I should be permitted to walk abroad; the effect of which priviledge my Enemies hindered by their Artifices, which they also made use of, to sow dissensions in my Family, that apparently caused the Death of my Wife, and the loss of the greatest part of my Estate, that I had acquired with much labour and industry during the term of thirty years.

In this condition I diligently examined my Conscience, but could not

find that I had offended any but God alone, in thought, word, or deed. Having committed no action that might give a just cause of complaint, since I had for a long time before taken care to do nothing that might be the occasion of the least suspicion, therefore I was apt to believe that the above-mentioned jealousies had mainly operated in this unfortunate conjuncture: I was informed by some, that my Antagonists to accomplish their designs had animated the Queen-Mother against me, although in serving the King I was always very careful lest I should displease her, as appears from the preceeding Relation: Whilst I revolved these things in my mind a certain debauched young man, that had been an *Augustine* Fryar, afterwards was admitted into the Oratory, and at last associated himself with the Libertins of the Court pretending to be an Abbot, being committed to the *Bastille* for his Crimes, and lodging in a Room over mine, gave me an account that he had been employed to cause me to be put into this place, after this manner;

manner; At first a Letter of Complements, that I had written to Madame de Lesdiguieres, was produced, to the intent that he might forge another like it, for he had a singular faculty in counterefeiting all sorts of hands; but he desired to be excused, because he thought mine was very difficult to be imitated, for several reasons that he alledged: after this denial, he was told that he ought at least to depose, that for three months together he had seen me going at midnight without a light and only attended with a little Page into the Chamber of Monsieur the King's Brother, as also the *Sieur de Modene*, and that we remained that up there above an hour; to this he replied that he was unwilling to mention *M. de Modene*, by reason that he being esteemed as a man of no great judgment, it would not be thought probable that he should contrive any Plots; but this could not be affirmed of *M. Deaumont*, however since he knew him only by hear-say and not by sight, he feared lest he should be compelled to justify these Depositions face to face

before a Magistrate: upon these difficulties it was agreed, that he should only declare the matter privately to the King, the Queen-Mother, the Cardinal of *Richelieu*, and the Lord Keeper of the Seals, having received a promise, that effectual care should be taken to prevent his being confronted. The Abbot *Feuquan* and *L'Anglois* his Brother informed me of divers other circumstances when they were brought into the *Bastille*, the former being lodged in a Chamber next to mine: insomuch that we could discourse one with another at certain hours though we were closely locked up: They confessed to me that they were the persons that prepared the Bill of Indictment in order to my Examination, without specifying the particulars of my accusation, lest the truth should be thereby discovered; for if they had been exhibited to me I could have very easily demonstrated my innocence, by proving that I had no Foot-men but such as were bigger than my self; that it was above a year ago since I stirred beyond the bounds of the street where I lived,

after

after seven of the Clock in the Evening, and that the Watch was set every Night either at my house, or at that of my Brother-in-law over against it, where they remained usually till one of the Clock in the Morning and never found me absent so much as once. Praised be God for all; and may he vouchsafe of his Infinite Mercy, not to impute to my Calumniation the evils that they have caused me to suffer, but to forgive them this and all their other Offences.

Perhaps this Digression concerning my own particular Affairs may be accounted very tedious and extravagant; but I humbly entreat his Eminency to excuse this boldness, since it proceeds from the extreme desire that I have always had, that he should be informed of my innocence, and of the forgeries that have been invented to withdraw me from the honour of his favour and protection, as also to procure my ruin: But all these attempts, or any other that hereafter may be put in practice to this effect, shall never be able in the least to divert me from the affection and service that

I owed to him, and have long since professed; neither shall they hinder me from continuing the Prayers that I daily put up to the Throne of Grace, for the preservation of his health for many years, and for the happy success of his generous Enterprizes.

While these Memorials were in the Press, one of my Friends having shewed to me the Relation that the Arch-Bishop of *Embrun* composed for the use of the Cardinal of *Richelieu*, concerning his Voyage into *England*; I thought it would not be amiss to insert it here, since it confirms one of the most considerable Passages related by *M. Degeant* touching the inclination of *James I.* King of great *Britain* to embrace the *Roman Catholic* Religion; I have hereunto annexed the Duke of *Buckingham's* two Letters on this subject, and the little Summary of the Negotiations of the said Arch-Bishop, which was adjoined at the end of this Relation.

THE

The Letter of the Cardinal of
Richelieu, to the Arch-Bishop
of Embrun.

SIR,

HAVING call'd to mind the Voyage,
that you took some years ago into
England, I could not forbear to
lay hold on this opportunity, to desire you
to let me know whether you were sent
thither by the King, or whether you went
of your own accord, and to what end, as
also whether there were certainly at that
time any Negotiation depending between
his Holiness, and the King of Great Britain
concerning his Conversion; You will very
much oblige me in giving an account of
all those particulars, that you shall judge
worthy to be observed on this subject,
assureing you in the meantime, that when-
soever an occasion shall be offered to de-
monstrate my affection to you, you shall
find that I am,

SIR,

Paris Febr. 19.

1635.

Your most Affectioned

Brother to serve you,

The Cardinal of Richelieu.

THE

THE
RELATION
OF

WILLIAM D'HUGUES
Arch-Bishop of EMBRUN.

IN the year 1624. the Embassadors of *England* on the account of the Treaty of Marriage between the Sister of the King of *France*, and the Prince of *Wales*, being arrived at *Compienne* where his Majesty then resided, a certain *English* Catholick Gentleman came to me to deliver a Letter from a *Scotch* Fryer of the Order of *St. Francis*; who had formerly received some favours from me in *Italy*, and at my instance was employ'd by Pope *Paul V.* in the *English* Mission: the Letter of this Religious Person, contained many particulars relating to the lamentable Condition of the poor Catholicks in *England*; as also a Recommendation of this Gentleman, who gave me a very large Account of all things,

things, and shewed to me the printed Copies of divers Acts made in *England* against the Catholicks; insomuch, that I acquired a perfect knowledg of their Persecutions, of the little support that *France* offered to them, and of the general complaint that they had made thereupon, even to that degree, that they had sent a Relation to *Rome*, wherein they Remonstrated, how much the Proceedings of their King on their behalf, during the Negotiation of the Marriage with *Spain*, differed from his Deportment towards them, since the Overtures of the Marriage with *France* by the Fryer's Letter, and by the discourse of this Gentleman. I was earnestly entreated in the name of all the principal Catholicks of *England*, to represent their miseries to the King, and to make him sensible of the little relief that they received from his Generosity.

I thought my self obliged to relate the whole matter to the King, which I took an opportunity to do very fully one morning a little after he rose, and declared to him, how much the Complaints of the English Catholicks contributed

tributed to cause an ill opinion amongst foreign Estates, as to the point of his Majesty's Piety and Zeal, how much it would obstruct the gaining of the dispensation at Rome, and that it was much to be wished that his Majesty had an Agent in England, that might be able particularly to give some consolation and satisfaction to the Catholics: I was patiently heard, but all the answer that I could then obtain, was, that I should attend the next day at the same hour; being come then at the time appointed, the King told me that he had considered every thing that I had propounded to him, and that he should be very glad to find out a proper Person to be sent for this purpose; but he knew not on whom to cast his Eye; after this reply, and other discourses on this subject, I took the liberty to acquaint him, that if his Majesty thought me capable to undertake this Affair, and would vouchsafe to give me a Commission, I would very willingly go as a private Gentleman, judging that as such I might more easily act, than as one that bears a publick Character. Thus

it was sufficient for me, that his Majesty wrote to *M. de Effiat*, that I should go thither to take a view of that Country, which was the only part of *Europe*, that I had not as yet seen, that it was by his leave, and that he recommended me to him. Moreover I insisted, that this manner of negotiating had always been very agreeable to me, and that through the Grace of God I had often obtained good success therein: For in several Voyages, as I visited my Order, I took an occasion, even by the special Command of the late King, to make application to diverse Princes of Christendom, and dispatched many important Affairs, that in appearance seemed to be transacted meerly upon my motion, and amongst others the League of all the Princes of *Italy* with the late King, and that of the Princes of *Germany*, to cause *Matthias* King of *Hungary* to be elected King of the *Romans*, against the open Opposition that the *Spaniards* made in favour of the Arch-Duke *Leopold*: to this the King replied, that he was not ignorant thereof, and that he did not only

ly consent that I should undertake this Voyage, but that he very much desired it, and the next day at Mafs his Majesty did me the honour to acquaint me that he had commanded *M. de la Ville-auclerce* to prepare my Dispatch, and ordered me to go and take it: He told me the same thing two Daies after, seeing me again at Mafs, and urged me to depart, which I did with all possible Expedition.

As soon as I was arrived at *Dover*, the Prier that had written to me came to see me, having received notice of my Voyage by the Gentleman that carried his Letter, and entreated me in the name of all the Catholicks to take Lodgings at *London* in a private House, and not to reside with the Ambassador, that they might have a more easy and private access to me. I travelled thither under the name of a Counsellor of the Parliament of *Grenoble*, who had been at all the Courts of the Christian Princes, except that of *England*, and soon met with the Duke of *Buckingham*, by whom I was immediately discovered; for he told me that one of the Physicians of the King.

King of *England*, a Native of *Germany*, being lately come from *France*, had reported to His Majesty that he had seen the Arch-Bishop of *Embrun* at *Dover*, in a different Habit from that which he used to wear in *France*, whom he had known long agoe, having observed him at *Rome* when he was General of the *Cordeliers*, at *Prague* and in *Poland*; and that the King was very desirous to see me, and to be informed of the design of my coming into *England*: to this end he desired me to relye on him, and freely to declare my Mind, which I did, being perswaded that since he was the Principal Minister of State, I ought to confide in him: afterwards he asked me several Questions concerning divers Negotiations which the Physician had related that I had transacted in *Germany*, and having given him a satisfactory Account thereof I perceived in him a good Disposition to hearken to whatsoever I should propound, and was also confirmed in this Opinion by his Mother, and by the Earl of *Rutland* his Father-in-Law, that were almost the first Persons with whom I became acquainted

quainted at *London*; by them and their Confessors I was instructed in all the particular Circumstances that ought to be observed in treating with the King of *England*, and with the said Duke of *Buckingham*, for the Consolation of the Catholics: Not long after his Grace appointed me instantly to depart to *Royston*, where the Court then was, to see the King; he conducted me thither himself, and introduced me into his Majesty's Presence, who being in his bed indisposed with the Gout entertained me very graciously, and ordered the Duke of *Buckingham* to hear every thing that I should say: After several general Discourses, that lasted above two hours, relating to the Voyages and Treaties, which he told me that he had heard that I had dispatched in *Germany*, and especially that of the King of *Hungary*, concerning which he was pleased to enquire of me very particularly, at last he began of his own accord to insist on the point of the Marriage; whereupon I represented to him the necessity of removing the Obstacles that were raised by the *Spaniards* at
Rome,

Rome, and the measures that ought to be taken to effect it, and that to obtain success therein, it was expedient that the grievances of the Catholicks should be redressed; on which Subject I discoursed very fully, and indeed all that I said to him was so favourably accepted, that I could not but acknowledge the peculiar Providence of God on this Occasion; for at this first meeting I prevailed so far, that Orders were given to release many Catholicks out of Prison, in *London* and other Places, that the execution of many Laws against them was suspended, and that I was permitted to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation at *London*; where during the time of my residence in that City, above ten thousand *English* Catholicks received this Sacrament from my Hands, at which their Enemies were extremely offended, and complained thereof to the King, but to no purpose, for his Majesty answered them that I did nothing contrary to his Pleasure.

At this time, and at all others, wherein I had the honour to see this King, he was so well pleased with my Propositions,

sitions, that he freely disclosed his Thoughts to me; and if M. d'Effiat were now living, he would be my Witness that this good Prince did plainly make it appear, that he delighted in conversing with me: In our Conferences he told me, that next to the Happiness he wished for, to be allied with *France*, he desired to be revenged on the *Spaniards* for the Injury that they had offered to him, rehearsing to me all the Particulars thereof with great Indignation; to which he added the Interests of his Son-in-Law, who was (said he) as it were banished into *Holland* with abundance of Children. I instantly replied upon this last Expression, and acquainted him, that to recover the *Palatinate* it was requisite that the two Crowns of *France* and *England* should be united, with a firm Resolution to weaken the Power of *Spain*, and to this end to enter into a League with the Princes of *Italy*; who (as I verily believed) since they had formerly made an Alliance with *France* alone, in the time of the late King, would be so much the more willing to do the

the like again, when they saw that *England* was also engaged, with whom the Pope would easily be persuaded to join, since he had reason to fear least the *Spaniards* should one day force him to submit to their Yoke: but to procure this Union he ought to assure the Pope and the other Princes, that the Catholick Religion should be indemnified; upon this I proposed many Expedients which pleased him extreamly, as the Duke of *Buckingham* afterwards related to me.

In exhibiting the methods to attain Union, I took an Opportunity to represent to him, that Liberty of Conscience in *England* would be one of the the most effectual means to give full Satisfaction to the Pope and the Catholick Princes; thereupon the King putting his Hand on mine, spake these Words, *I plainly see that you are the Person appointed by God, in whom I ought to confide and to reveal the Secrets of my Heart*; afterwards he very freely acknowledged the good opinion that he had conceived of the Catholick Faith, and so particularly that he omitted nothing; protesting to me, that during

ing his Minority his Tutors having perceived his Inclination to that Religion, he run great hazard of being assassinated. As to this Liberty of Conscience, he professed, that he intended long agoe to grant it in his Dominions, and that for this very purpose he designed to summon an Assembly of Prelats and other learned Men of *England*, together with an equal number of Forreigners, and on the Decisions therein concluded to found the said Liberty, adding that he had already determined what Persons should be chosen amongst the *English*, and that if the Assembly could not meet at *Dover*, he would consent that it should be holden at *Boulogne*, as soon as he should be in a condition to relye on the King of *France*, by the means of the Marriage, to which he had agreed on his part; and to procure these good Effects, he thought it convenient that after the Consummation thereof, I should return into *England* under the pretence of accompanying the Princess, at which time he would deliver to me two Letters written with his own Hand, one for the King

King and the other for the Pope, containing his generous Resolutions; he would also give me a distinct Memorial concerning his Intentions, which I should prepare, and he would sign, to the end that being furnished with these Dispatches I should go to *Rome* under colour of visiting the Apostolick See, where I should treat with the Pope alone, for whom he said that he had a great Affection and Respect, ever since he understood that he had composed Verses in his Youth on the violent Death of the late Queen of *Scotland* his Mother, in commendation of her and of the Family of the *Stuarts*, which he shewed to me. He was pleased further to declare, that in case I returned from *Rome* with his Holiness's Approbation of the said Convention, he would cause it forthwith to be assembled, whereupon extraordinary and admirable Events would ensue; but before he proceeded to discover his purpose as to his own Person, he would negotiate with the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, and with the principal Puritan Lords of *England* and *Scotland*, and promised that all things should

should tend to an happy end, and to the great advantage of the Catholick Church. This is the substance of all our Discourses at several times on this Subject: but for a Testimony of the Trust that this King reposed in me, I shall here insert the particulars of my Transactions on account of the Marriage.

A considerable Progress being made in this Negociation, the Duke of *Buckingham* arrived near *London*, and from one of his Houses wrote to M. d' *Effiat* that he was ready to treat with him about a new Affair, desiring him to come thither and to bring me along with him: We went accordingly, and the Duke told us that the King remembering the Delays and Artifices of the *Spaniards* to hinder the procuring of the dispensation during the Treaty with them, was sensible that they would endeavour much more to cause it to be refused at the solicitation of *France*, that he was resolved not to incur the danger of a second Affront, and that for this reason it was necessary that the King of *France* should permit the Marriage to be celebrated before

before the Dispensation; for he was informed that an Absolution for Actions already committed was more easily to be obtained at *Rome*, than a Dispensation to do them: Upon this the Ambassador alledged two Points, first that the King his Master had altogether as much Power at the Court of *Rome* as the King of *Spain*, and secondly that his Most Christian Majesty would very willingly grant this Demand; however I seemed not to approve the last Answer, which the Duke of *Buckingham* soon perceived, and taking an occasion after Dinner to shew me his House he desired me to explain my meaning at large as to this Particular; which I did, and enumerated to him divers Inconveniencies very prejudicial to *England*, that would ensue upon the Consummation of this Marriage without a Dispensation, together with the examples of several Princes; insisting that this would grievously offend the Pope, that no favour could afterwards be expected from him; and that by this means the good Designs, that the King of Great *Britain* intended to prosecute, would be frustrated;

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frated; besides I believed that the King of *France* would never consent to it. The Duke having heard me replied, that since he distrusted his own Ability to relate to the King all the Arguments that I had produced, he would entreat me as soon as I should come to *London* to compose a Letter containing these Reasons, and to direct it to him, which he would shew to his Majesty, and thereby supply the defect of his Memory; he recommended this matter very earnestly to my Care, and assured me that till it were performed nothing would be concluded.

We parted after this manner, and as we returned to *London*, M. d'Effiat told me that the Duke had promised to come to Town within four or five Days, and to bring the final Resolution; but this time being expired, and the Duke not appearing, M. d'Effiat grew impatient, and resolved to ride post to him. I had then finished my Letter, and delivered it into his Hands; but he met his Grace that very day in his Journey to *London*, and came back along with him, where
being

being arrived at Night, M. d'Effiat immediately dispatcht a Messenger to give me notice that I should repair to his Lodgings the next Morning at Sun-rising, and that the Duke of Buckingham would be there to determine all things: I failed not to attend at the Hour appointed, when M. d'Effiat acquainted me that the Duke at their first meeting had enquired of him concerning my Health, and whether I had written to him, that he instantly gave him my Letter, and perceived by his Countenance that he was well pleased. After we had waited about two Hours his Secretary came, and approaching M. d'Effiat told him with a loud Voice that I might hear, that the Duke had at Mid-night received an express Letter from the King by an extraordinary Courier, with strict Orders that he should without delay take post to meet him, and that afterwards he would return to *London*; having delivered this Message he complemented us in his Name and took his leave; at which M. d'Effiat was extremely incensed, and said, that he would write to the King to give him an account

of the perfidiousness of the *English*, and that he ought no longer to confide in them: I intreated him to forbear, and to have a little patience till matters might be accommodated, and retired to my own Lodgings, where within a few Hours after I understood that he had already sent a Dispatch to the King; thereupon doubting lest in the heat of his Passion he should have affirmed that the Negotiation was quite broken off, and having an opportunity to make use of the same Courier, that had given notice to me of his Departure, and of the Pacquet that was delivered to him by *M. d'Esfiat*, I immediately wrote a little Note to the Cardinal of *Richelieu*, in which I assured him that the Affair was not desperate, tho perhaps it might be otherwise represented to the King; and that I hoped that in less than eight Days all things would be concluded to his Majesty's Satisfaction: his Eminency received my Letter, and I have been since informed by the late Marshal *de Schomberg* that it was read in a full Council and in the King's Presence.

Not many days passed e're the Duke of *Buckingham* wrote to me, that he had presented my Letter to the King, and that his Majesty referred himself wholly to me, whether I thought fit that the Dispensation should preceed the Celebration of the Marriage or not, provided that Delays were avoided: I have his Letter in my custody that clearly demonstrates how far the King and he relied on me in the managing of this Affair, as appears also by other Letters that I have, and by the Commission that his Majesty of Great Britain gave me to write to *Rome* to facilitate the said Dispensation, the Original of which I have in my Hands, together with the Additions written by the Duke of *Buckingham*, and dictated by the King, which plainly shew his Majesty's good Inclinations to embrace the Catholick Faith. Afterwards when the Duke came to *London*, all things were concluded according to the effects that ensued. These Proceedings being thus far advanced I returned into *France*; but before my departure from *London*, the Duke of *Buckingham* desired me in

the King's Name, to commit the principal matters to writing that related to the *Spaniards*, and to the Union that had been proposed, which I did and sent them to him.

As soon as I arrived in *France*, I gave a particular account to the King of all things that I had performed in my Voyage; who was pleased to signify unto me that he was very well satisfied with the good designs of the King of Great *Britain*, and declared that a Report was already spread abroad in *France*, that I treated with that King about his Conversion, and that several Persons had informed him thereof; I replied that there were the same Suspicions in the Court of *England*; that the King of Great *Britain* had earnestly enjoined me to keep the matter secret, and that therefore I was obliged to beseech his Majesty to do the like, which he promised me very affectionately; but all these generous Resolutions were made void by the Death of the King of *England*, the first News whereof was brought to me at *Mass*, by the King himself, who expressed his Regret in these Words,

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All our Hopes of England are lost; and seeing me surprized he told me that their King was dead. I shall only add that I received the marks of the extraordinary Kindness and Esteem that the King of Great Britain professed to me in *France* as well as in *England*; for when I went to visit his Ambassadors at *Paris*, they shewed to me one of his Letters: wherein he ordered them in expresse terms to account me as his good and faithful Friend, which was not a little serviceable in obliging them to surmount the Difficulties and Scruples that they had raised on the occasion of certain conditions mentioned in the Dispensation, insomuch that I treated with them concerning this Affair very fully and effectually, at the request of Father *Bernulle*. I could produce other Testimonies of the like nature, but not thinking it necessary, I shall finish this Relation with the last Transaction that I managed with the Duke of *Buckingham* during his residence at *Paris*; wherein I perswaded him to use his endeavours to prevail with his new King to keep a good correspondence with the Pope, and to

that end to maintain a trusty Catholick Agent at *Rome*; but he desired that the King should first propound it, therefore I discoursed with his Majesty on this Subject, who gave his consent, and ordered me to impart it to Monsieur *Tronson*, that he might put him in mind thereof on the Road, as he accompanied the Queen of *England*, which I believe that the King may remember.

Given at Embrun, March 3. 1635.

I have here inserted an Addition that I made to the above-said Relation, and which was also sent to the Cardinal of Richelieu.

The Duke of *Buckingham* relating to me the particular Circumstances of the Negotiation with the *Spaniards*, during the abroad of the Prince of *Wales* at *Madrid*, informed me, that the said Prince having instantly demanded to be admitted into the company of the Infanta, and to discourse with her, was repulsed, and told that this could not be granted, unless he would first
make

make profession of the Catholick Religion in the presence of at least six or seven Witnesses, to which they endeavoured to persuade him with all the Artifices imaginable, but could not obtain their desire: nevertheless he was permitted to write to her, as he did at several times, and received an answer, which the Prince believed to be written with the hand of the Infanta, but it appeared afterwards to be composed by one of her Ladies of Honour; for upon the embarking of the Prince for *England*, Cardinal *Sapata* that attended him according to the order of the King of *Spain*, delivered a Pacquet to him sealed up, which being opened in the Vessel, there were found therein all the Letters written by him to the Infanta, folded up and sealed as he sent them. He acquainted me also, that within a few days before my arrival, *Don Carlo Coloma* Ambassador extraordinary from *Spain* had used his utmost Endeavours to induce him to believe that the difficulties that were raised at *Rome* in granting the Dispensation, proceeded not from the instance nor consent of the King his

M 5.

Master;

Master; therefore he offered and insisted very much thereupon, that if his Majesty would defer the concluding of the agreement with *France* for six months, he would procure the said Dispensation, and would religiously observe every Article contained in the Conditions of their Alliance that was created in *Spain*, viz: To restore the Palatinate; to send considerable Supplies for the recovery of *Guienne* and *Normandy*; to permit a free Passage and Commerce to the *East* and *West-Indies*; and other particulars: In opposition to these Proposals I represented to him divers Reasons taken from the very Discourses that he had rehearsed to me, and from the Intrigues of the *Spaniards* already mentioned by him; insomuch that he was convinced that all these new Offers were only so many fraudulent Artifices; by which nevertheless he confirmed that the King was moved: I gave notice thereof to *M. d'Effiat*, who had already perceived somewhat in the Audiences that he had obtained of his Majesty, and desired me to search into the truth of the matter, as I afterwards

wards did; for which Service he protested that he was very much obliged to me.

Amongst these Discourses he shewed to me a Letter that the Prince *Palatin* had written to him from the *Hague*, in which he entreated him to take care that this Condition should be inserted in the Treaty, and to disannul it in case the *Spaniards* refused to restore the *Palatinate*, and as an acknowledgment of this favour, and also as a testimony of the perpetual Friendship that he intended to contract with the said *Duke*, he proposed that his Daughter (who nevertheless was not above seven yearsold) should be instantly married to his Grace's eldest Son, to which I perceived that the Duke was much inclined; for he told me that the King was not very averse from it: However having desired him to refer this matter to me, and to hear my Opinion, I alledged to him so many Reasons, that his Majesty resolved not to oppose the rupture any longer, and the Duke not to consent to this Marriage, and both determined to conclude that of *France* with *England*; and this is the meaning
of

of these Words in his Grace's Letter, bearing date the 9th of *November*, the Copy whereof I have here annexed, [*But the care of this great Affair to which you have incited me.*] The *English* Catholicks having penetrated into the progress that was made, and well knowing his Majesty's Discourses on my behalf; the deliverance of so many Catholicks that were in Prison, and the liberty that I had taken (which was a thing never seen in *England* since Heresy prevailed in that Country) to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation in *London*, sent an Express thereof to *Rome*; at which the *Spaniards* being enraged, took an occasion to slander me with so many Artifices and false Insinuations that they exasperated the Pope against me, under divers pretences, viz. That I went into *England* without the knowledg of his Nuntio; that I had confirmed People there without a Licence; and that I had visited Persons of the highest Rank in that Kingdom, notwithstanding that they were Hereticks, even the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Mansfield*: insomuch that I was obliged

ged at my return into *France* to write an Apology, which I sent to *Rome*, to represent to that Court, that since I had diligently endcavoured to prevent a rupture between *France* and *Spain*, and that this Marriage should not be celebrated without a Dispensation; I ought rather to be commended than blamed for performing such Actions: but not long after, I received an answer from *M. de Bethunes*, that the Pope being informed of all the circumstances of this Negociation, was very well satisfied with my Conduct; I also sent the Copies of several Letters of the Duke of *Buckingham*, of *M. d' Effiat* Ambassador in *England*, and of *M. de Bethunes* Ambassador of *Rome*, which confirm all the principal matters contained in this Relation: But that the Letters of *M. d' Effiat* may be more clearly understood, I ought to add, that I wrote to him concerning the malicious Accusations and Devices that were contrived against me, and entreated him to give an account thereof to the King of Great Britain; this is the tenor of his first Letter.

More-

Moreover the King of *England* abhorred the Jesuits to that degree, that he not only declared that he would never consent, that the Confessor of the Princess should be of that Order, nor that any one of them should belong to her retinue; but his Majesty was also pleased to command me to desire the King *France* to change his Confessor, affirming, that this would be necessary for the Prosecution of the Designs that we had agreed upon, and would be very advantageous with respect to the Protestant Princes. Father *Jacquinet* coming to see me at *Paris*, acquainted me, that he was appointed to go into *England* with the Princess, and entreated me to give a good Character of his person in that Country; thereupon I freely professed to him, urging several reasons, that he would not be well received there, since I believed that he would not be suffered to appear, that he would be sent back again, and that this would produce great dissensions between these two Crowns; nevertheless to satisfy him, I wrote to M. *de Effiat* what he had told me, and what answer I had

had given; and upon this account he sent me the Letter that the Duke of *Buckingham* had written to him, as the result of his third Letter, wherein he discourseth on the same Subject, and declares that he intended to deliver my Letters to me himself; that they might be burnt.

A Letter of the Duke of *Buckingham*, to the Arch-Bishop of *Embrun*.

S I R,

THe Hopes that I have to see you very suddainly detain me from rendring to you the due Testimony of my Gratitude, being extremely ambitious of the Honour to embrace you at London, and pay my Respects and Thanks to you for the great Esteem and Affection that you have expressed to me, and for the satisfaction that you have given to me in your Letters: But the care of this great Affair, to which you have incited me with cogent Arguments, obligeth me to wave all Ceremonies, and to hasten our Master in bringing

ing this Work to perfection; to which I am more inclined than to any other thing in the World, and which at present is so far advanced, that nothing seems to be wanting but your Benediction, which I also begg for myself, and invite you hither to bestow another here; the lasting marks whereof shall for ever remain in my Family: The ardent desire of this Benefit hath caused me to forget the difficulty of the journey, and your trouble; but not in the least the acknowledgments that I shall owe to you, and the obligation that I shall thereby receive: In the mean time I remain,

At Newhall,
Novemb. 9.

S I R,

1624.

Your most Affectionate

and Humble Servant

G. BUCKINGHAM.

Another

Another Letter by the same Hand
to the same Person.

S I R,

I Tender to You my most hearty Thanks for communicating your Sentiments, and for the Kindness from whence it proceeds: The Liberty that you have commanded me to take, and the certain Knowledge that I have of the good Affection and inclination of my Master have emboldened me to alter two Passages in your judicious and most elegant Letter, which otherwise I durst not have presumed to touch; and therefore hoping that you will esteem it as a Design to serve you I shall only endeavour to put you in mind how necessary it is to expedite the Marriage, leaving it to your mature deliberation whether it be requisite that the Dispensation should precede or follow it: if you find that there is any probability of dispatch at Rome, I think the Marriage need not be so much hastened:

hastened: but if procrastinations and
 delays be intended, it would be most
 convenient according to my opinion to
 resolve on the accomplishment thereof,
 and afterwards to expect the Dispen-
 sation; for it is easily to be imagined
 that his Majesty cannot with any satis-
 faction remain long in suspense by reason
 of the joy and delight that he promiseth
 to himself in the Issue of this excellent
 Prince his only Son; forasmuch as this
 is an Affair on which depend innumera-
 ble Considerations of the greatest Import-
 ance. You have already seen that the
 Treaty of Marriage with Spain hath
 failed, and if this should not succeed
 (which God forbid) there would be no
 Grounds, nor Hopes for the future, to
 treat with any Prince whatsoever of the
 Roman Catholick Religion; from whence
 it would most certainly follow, that all
 the Mitigations and Overtures made in
 favour of the Roman Catholics in these
 Kingdoms would soon cease; the general
 Peace of Christendom would be in ap-
 parent danger; and the Union of the
 Forces of these two Crowns being dissolv-
 ed, no means could be found to establish
 such a Correspondence and assurance of
 mutual

mutual Supplies as might be able to oppose any exorbitant and ambitious Power that might arise: and if for default of the Issue of so excellent a Prince these Crowns should fall into the possession of a Daughter and her Children, their Number would encrease so far as to become burthensome to these Kingdoms; and their Education might cause many Changes, according to the opinion of those that have conceived great Hopes in the consummation of the Marriage between his Royal Highness and the Princess Mary. This is a consequence that your Discretion hath already foreseen, having strictly examined all the Arguments that can be proposed on this Subject; insomuch that I shall altogether rely on your Judgment and Mediation to procure all the Expedition that can be imagined, and to confirm, and (if it were possible) to encrease the Reputation that you have gained not only with the King my Master, but also amongst all those that have the Honour to know you; who are very sensible that you are endowed with extraordinary Prudence, Integrity and Charity, to which I again recommend these Affairs:

(260)

*Affairs: and dayly praying to God for
your Prosperity I shall remain in the
indissoluble bonds and obligations, where-
in your Vertue hath engaged me,*

At Newmarket
Novemb. 15.

S I R,

1624.

Your most Affectionate

and Humble Servant

G. BUCKINGHAM.

*Pray be pleased to excuse the writ-
ing of the Alterations in your
Letter; for to keep it secret, I
did not think it convenient to
make use of any other Hand but
my own.*

THe Arch-Bishop of Embrun by
many signal Services, that he
performed in *France* before he was
General of the Order of *St. Francis*,
rendered himself considerable in the
Esteem of the deceased King *Henry*
the Great through the means of his
Ambassadors,

Ambassadors, that informed his Majesty of his Person and extraordinary Qualifications ; inſomuch that being made General of his Order, and the opportunities of continuing theſe Services being more frequent, he acted ſo prudently, and pleaſed the King ſo far, that his Maſteſty from that time imparted to him his moſt important Enterprizes, and employed him in making a League Offeſſive and Deſenſive with all the Princes of *Italy* againſt *Spain* ; in which he obtained good Succeſs in the proſecution of the King's Orders, and his Maſteſty was ſo well ſatiſfied with his Tranſactions, that he reſolved to make uſe of him again for the ſame purpoſe in *Germany* againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria* : thereupon haveing acquainted him with his Pleaſure, he judged that he might gain greater Advantages if his Negotiation were private, and perſwaded the King to vouchſafe that he ſhould go under colour of viſiting the Provinces of his Order in *Germany* ; and to palliate his Deſign he furniſhed himſelf with divers Diſpatches and Commiſſions

sions from the Pope: thus under this pretence after he had received Instructions from the King, that were delivered to him by *M. de Champigny* his Ambassador at *Venice*, he departed into *Germany*, travelled through the whole Countrey, and passed even as far as *Transylvania* and *Poland*, proceeding everywhere according to the King's Orders; the chief of which were to divide the House of *Austria*, and at length to take away the Empire from them, and to put it into the Hands of some other Family in *Germany*.

To facilitate the procuring of this Division there happened two favourable Occasions; First the Discord between *Matthias* King of *Hungary* the Emperor's Brother, and the Arch-Duke *Leopold* his young Nephew; both pretending to a Right to be Elected King of the *Romans*: Secondly the Indignation of *Matthias* because the Emperor his Brother preferred his Nephew *Leopold* before him. These Advantages were so well prosecuted, that upon the Propositions that the said Arch-Bishop offered to
Matthias

Matthias of the assistance of the Forces of *France*, that should be re-enforced with those of the Electors of *Triers* and *Palatin*, whom he very much distrusted, he abandoned the Interests of his own Family, and resolved to enter into League with the King of *France*; and even obliged the Arch-Bishop to go into *Transylvania* to engage *Bethlehem Gabor*. The Project of withdrawing the Empire from the House of *Austria* was principally grounded on this Division; for *Matthias* was already advanced in years, and was not married, therefore when he should be created Emperor, either he would have no Children; or if he had any, he could not leave them capable to possess the Empire at his Death: on this account it was very probable that it might be easily transmitted into another Family; and this was the most powerful Motive to induce the Princes of *Germany* to unite with the King, and to make a League Offensive and Defensive with him. After the Arch-Bishop had concluded this Alliance in *Germany* he returned into *France*, and passed through the
Low-

Low-Countreys ; where to conceal his Negotiations with the *Infanta* and *Nuncio* of *Flanders* he continued to make use of the Instructions that he had received from his Holiness.

About the end of the year 1609. he arrived at *Paris*, where he gave an account to the King of every thing that he had performed, and delivered to him the Memorials and Certificates relating to these Transactions: but the King thought fit to employ him again in the League of *Italy*, to cause the Princes to consent to, and to sign certain new Articles that his Majesty had added. He might justly boast that the King was very well satisfied with his Endeavours ; and if the late Queen-Mother were living, she would be a sufficient Witness of the Kindness and Respect that his Majesty expressed towards him : He resided about two months at Court, and three daies before he took his leave the King himself told him, that he was resolved to cause him to be promoted to the Dignity of a Cardinal, not at his Nomination, but as it were upon the Pope's own Inclination, that

that he might not be suspected by the other Princes; and that he might not lose the great Credit and Reputation that he had acquired amongst them; Monsieur de Villeroi confirmed this to him at his Departure: and indeed being arrived at *Rome*, he was informed by Monsieur de Breues, the Ambassador of *France*, that he had Orders to solicit it, and that the Pope was willing to give his consent, but the Effect was frustrated by the unfortunate and lamentable Accident of the King's Murther; nevertheless his Holiness declared to him that he intended to persist in his Purpose; and it was generally reported that he would be one of the five Cardinals that were to be created in the Month of *August* 1621, but it happened otherwise; for the Procurator-General of his Order was made Cardinal in his stead, and on the very same Evening after this Promotion Cardinal Mellini came to acquaint him that the Pope was obliged to change his Resolution, because the Ministers of *Spain* having penetrated into his Intentions had insisted, that

if his Holiness made a *French-man* Cardinal without the Nomination of his King, he ought also to advance a *Spaniard* after the same manner, making great Protestations if he should act to the contrary.

Some time after, the Arch-Bishoprick of *Embrun* was given to him, which caused him to return into *France*, and being arrived at the Court to take the Oath of Allegiance in the King's Presence, he represented to the Queen-Regent the small Revenue that belonged to his Arch-Bishoprick, which did not amount to above two thousand Crowns, being abstracted from the Charges and great Salaries that were annexed to it; as it appeared by the computation that the Commissioners of the *Regalia* had made thereof: Her Majesty replied thereupon, that she thought that she had been assured that it was worth much more: However remembering that Monsieur de *Brenes* had written to her, that the Kings of *Hungary* and *Poland* had importuned him to abide in their Dominions, and more especially

especially that the Count *de Castres*, Vice-Roy of *Naples*, had offered to him the Coadjutorship of the Arch-Bishoprick of *Taranto*, to which appertained a Revenue of twenty thousand Crowns, the Arch-Bishop whereof was his near Kinsman, and died within six Months after; she immediately commanded Monsieur *de Villeroy* to treat with Monsieur *de Crequy* concerning the augmenting of this Pension with a thousand Crowns, that should be taken out of his Arch-Bishoprick; and promised to pay the extinction in ready Money: Moreover, she was pleased to order the said *Sieur de Villeroy* to put her in mind of the Arch-Bishop in case of any Vacancy; Her Majesty also further expressed her good will in sending him into *Spain*, where he resided by her special Command at the time of the Marriages, to observe the Actions of the *Spaniards* on the account of this Alliance, and principally the Duke *de Lerme*, with whom he was particularly acquainted, as also with many other Noble-men of *Spain*, that he had known in *Italy*:

But all these Favours that he received from the Queen, suddenly ceased upon the great Revolutions that happened at Court. This Journey was the cause of another that he took into *Piedmont*; for the Duke of *Savoy* being informed by his Ambassador in *Spain* of the frequent Conferences that this Arch-Bishop held with the Duke *de Lerme*, and how much he was esteemed by the said Duke, interceded with the Marshal *de Lifdiguières* to persuade him to go into *Piedmont*: insomuch that he went thither with the King's Approbation; and it may be certainly affirmed, that he laid the first Foundation of the Peace that was afterwards concluded, by the means of a large Letter in form of a Relation that he wrote to the Duke *de Lerme*, containing the Reasons that might induce *Spain* to incline to this Treaty. Notwithstanding all these Journeys and vast Expences he did not neglect his Bishoprick; for he re-established therein several Rights that had been lost in the time of the Wars, redeemed five Territories and divers other

other Demesns that had been alienated, and after this manner encreased the Revenue of the said Archbishoprick; but all this could not be effected without a great deal of Trouble and Charge, since he was forced to sue for it, and to obtain almost 30 several Decrees. It is no less true that he found his Archi-Episcopal House so ruined, it being burnt by the *Huguenots*, that at his arrival at *Embrun* he was constrained to take Lodgings for his Family in the City; nevertheless he restored it to so good a Condition that the late King and most of the principal Nobility of *France* have lodged there, and have given him very great Commendations on this Account: Moreover he hath expended considerable Sums of Money in divers Journeys that he undertook at the command, and in the Service of the late King, and never was reimbursed to the value of one Penny.

When he was at *Paris*, about the beginning of the Year 1620, the King at the persuation of Monsieur

de Luines, having told him that he desired to see all the Papers, Letters and Instructions that he had received from the late King *Henry* the Great relating to his Negotiations in *Italy* and *Germany*, he sent one of his Servants to *Embrun* to fetch the said Papers, amongst which was the League offensive and defensive that he had transacted with the Princes of *Italy*; having presented the Copy of the said League and other Memorials to the late King, his Majesty commanded him with his own Mouth to deliver them to *M. de Luines*; which he did, but could never recover them out of his Hands; for after the death of the said Monsieur *de Luines*, the late King at his request, ordered Monsieur *de Tronson* to demand them of Monsieur *de Modene*, who replied that he had seen them, but that he knew not how they were disposed. It is well known what Advantages accrued to the State upon the Conversion of the late Constable *de Lesdiguières*, which was accomplished with great applause by the said Arch-Bishop, who having insinuated

insinuated himself into the Mind of this Noble Lord continually solicited him to take this good resolution; Monsieur de *Païsieux*, whom he acquainted with these Particulars, hath given a testimony thereof in his Letter that he sent to him, which is also confirmed in another written by the King on the subject of this Conversion. According to his Majesty's Order, he accompanied the Constable at the Siege of *Montpelier*, and constantly attended him until the Month of *January* 1624, when he received a Letter from the King, importing an express Command that he should come unto him; as soon as he appeared at Court, his Majesty imparted to him the desire that he had to send him into *Italy*, to treat with the Princes as he had formerly done on the behalf of King *Henry* the Great against *Spain*: But the time not being convenient for such a Negociation; he ingeniously propounded his Reasons to the King, which his Majesty approved, and declared to him his Satisfaction therein.

Not

Not long after, the King appointed him to go into *England*; concerning which Voyage he hath already composed a Relation for the use of the Cardinal of *Richelieu*, who wrote to him on purpose to desire it. It is certain that in this Voyage he was very serviceable in concluding the Marriage that was once broken off: It is no less true that he acquired much Credit and Reputation with King *James I.* to that degree, that he not only obtained a permission to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation in *London*, where above twelve thousand *English* Catholics received it from his hands, and were thereby comforted and strengthened; but he also persuaded that Prince very much to incline towards a Conversion; and if he had not died so suddainly, the good Effects thereof would have appeared: the Duke of *Buckingham's* Letters may serve as a sufficient Testimony of all these Circumstances, which are specified at large in the above mentioned Relation. The late King was fully informed concerning these Transactions, insomuch that be-

sides

sides the Satisfaction that he expressed to him in particular, he designed to nominate him to the Cardinalship, and signified his Intentions to Cardinal *Bagny* then Nuncio in *France*, who returning to *Rome* revealed it to the said Arch-Bishop at *Avignon*.

But at this time (as heretofore) the King's generous Inclinations to promote the Arch-Bishop proved ineffectuall; nevertheless he alwaies persevered to serve his Majesty with his Person and small Estate; neither could extraordinary Expences nor great Dangers divert him from this Resolution: for in the year 1630. the late King having ordered him to take care of the Passage of the Troops through his Diocese, and to furnish them with Provisions, Ammunition, and other things requisite for the Subsistence of the Army that was to march into *Italy*. Although this obliged him to disburse vast Sums of Money, and to incur extreme Perils, since the Plague raged everywhere throughout his whole Diocese, so violently that his Almoner and Gentleman-Usher fell sick in his own House; however

however he remained alwaies near the High-way to provide all things necessary : this may be evidently proved by the Letters of the late King and the Cardinal of *Richelieu* ; as also by those of the Marshal de *Montmorency*, de *Schomberg*, de la *Force* and d' *Effiat*. Moreover he performed other remarkable Services when the King's Forces took *Pignerol* ; for the Arch-Bishop being informed that the Duke of *Savoy* intended to put a strong Garison into his Fort of *Laure* in the Valley of *Barcelona* very near the Roads that lead to *Provence* and *Dauphine*, through which all the Provisions and military Ammunition were to be conveyed ; to the end that they might make Incursions and seize on the Waggon and Carriages ; and might by this means reduce the Army to the utmost Extremity : He gave notice thereof to the Cardinal, by the *Sieur d' Hughes* his Nephew, at present Agent-General of the Clergy of *France*, whom he sent to him on purpose : The Cardinal did not neglect this Advice, but immediately dispatched Monsieur de *Montreal*, Quarter-

Quarter-Master, and the Abbot *de Beauvais* at present Bishop of *Nantes*, who with all possible speed repaired to *Embrun*, with Orders to do whatsoever the Arch-Bishop should think convenient on this occasion, who declared his opinion, gave to them the *Sieur Baron d'Hugues* his other Nephew, and afforded all manner of Assistance, insomuch that the Fort was attacked, and the Garison compelled to surrender.

F I N I S.
